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342 784 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with 252 372 bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

[415 531]

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time.

[415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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764 monial process. The adz with which it was made was *tapu*, and was called *toki mana (toki*, adz, *mana*, power), or *toki tapu*. The carver had to bathe before he started work and wore a head-dress of coconut leaves *(pa'e koua'ehi)* and a coconut leaf on his body *(tapi koua'ehi)* and a *hami puo* (a special loin cloth of some kind) (9). During the process of manufacture, the *pu'e*, creation or generation chant, was recited by the ceremonial priest. The work of adzing, carving, and decorating was done in an especially built house by masters skilled in these crafts.

Coffins were either flat-ended or canoe-shaped, with pointed ends. The former types have been observed on Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Ua Pou. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton observed coffins made of smoothly polished wood and canoe-shaped with pointed, upturned ends. These canoes showed no signs of decoration with ornamental sennit and had neither lids nor mat covers. Lucett, commenting on the coffins he observed on Tahu Ata says:

> Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones (21, vol. 2, p. 197).

Stewart (26, p. 259) describes a canoe-shaped coffin on Nuku Hiva:

> The most remarkable of these was a coffin, something in the shape of a canoe, with a neatly wrought lid, the whole being wrapped in large folds of native cloth, containing the remains of a son of the Taua, who died many years since. It is elevated two or three feet from the ground on a bier of frame-work, and occupies the centre of the house.

This statement shows that some of the coffins had lids. Dordillon gives the words *papapu* and *papa puho as* terms meaning the covering of a coffin, the former being from the northern section of the group, the latter from the southern. *Papapu* means also a kind of small canoe. Modern informants on Hiva Oa have told me that lids were never used there. One coffin covered with fau bark mats was seen by Mr. Linton. That coffins were made both with and without lids is evident, but whether lids were ever used in Hiva Oa or not could not be ascertained.

In both the southern and northern sections of the group coffins were [531] elaborately ornamented with lashings of sennit, black and red strips crossing each other in alternate directions over the white tapa that covered the body of the coffin. The designs for this decoration were taken from string figures. For carrying the coffin a long pole was lashed on each side, the sennit lashings being ornamental.

It has already been said that instead of the platform surmounted by a fixed bier on posts found on Hiva Oa, there was used on Ua Pou and on Nuku Hiva a portable bier, which was kept in the dwelling house and carried out during the day-time when the body was sunned. The main part of this *papa tupapaku* consisted of a heavy, hollowed board *(papa)* of

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411 of ironwood: ***matakena, matikio, matikena, matikeo,*** lance: ***maaeki,*** lance of pandanus wood; ***kohaa,*** weapon of pandanus wood; ***kaaeki,*** wooden lance

[531]

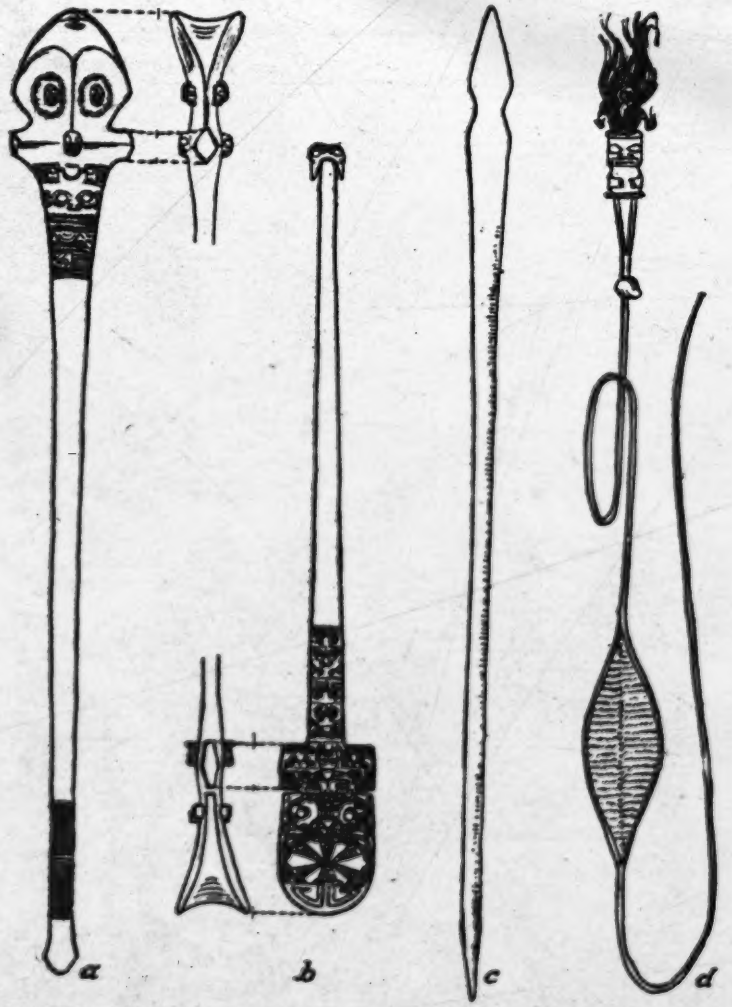

FIGURE 12.—Weapons of native warfare: *a, b,* war clubs; *c,* spear; *d,* sling.

of ***eki*** bush; ***epu,*** kind of lance. The ***miomiota*** or ***miopatu*** was a lance made of rosewood. My information is that spears were never thrown in

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was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid.

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a background of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch.

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ka'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaaka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (pane) closing the front of the house.

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342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae*, which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in 531 front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau*, accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e*, recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vaka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au*.

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e*.

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human

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and were called *teka*. The float (*ama*) of the outrigger (*ama*) was made of fau and was attached to the supporting rods by four or six small sticks (*ti'a ti'a*) which were inserted into holes on the outrigger float and bound on the supporting rods. The platform (*papua, hou'ua*) resting on the poles that held together a double canoe has been described. On all large single canoes used for fishing or for war there was at the stern an elevated platform (*papa'u*) on which the steersman stood. Stewart (26, pp. 211-20) describes "a high platform deeply fringed with the pendant leaves of a palm," on which the steersman stood on the stern of a canoe. Stewart states that in the bow of this canoe there was another platform made of small sticks covered with a mat on which was seated a man who was evidently a priest.

Sails (*ti'a, moena*) which were used on the smaller fishing craft and the large voyaging canoes were of the triangular, or lateen, type, and according to Linton were made of coconut leaf mats. It seems probable that pandanus mats were also used, particularly for voyages, on account of their greater durability. The mast was stepped in a hole (*puti'a*) in the bottom of the canoe and passed up through one of the forward seats (*pihao*).

The paddles (*hoe*) were made of rosewood. The handle ends were ornamented with a small *tiki* figure and the blades with designs similar to those used on bowls. The lower end of the paddle blade always terminated in a long rounded point. (See fig. 16, *c*.)

The bailers were made of *mi'o* or *temanu* wood and were "shaped like a sugar-scoop with the handle reversed—that is, projecting forward over the cavity" (20). (See fig. 16, *b*.)

Ornamentation of Canoes

The main decoration of canoes was by means of carving and ornamental lashing. Bow and stern pieces were carved with the ornamental adzed designs (*tiki*) used on house posts (See fig 16, *d*). Some modern informants say that tattooing designs were also applied on these parts. This is true at least of canoe models. I believe with Mr. Linton that this type of carving was not used on the large canoes of ancient times. Ornamental lashings (*pu'u kaha*) the designs of which were taken from string figures, bound the supporting rods of the outrigger to the balancer and to the sideboards, and the sideboards to the hull, these lashings being made of sennit dyed red, yellow, and black. There was a conventional figure head, which was apparently always used at the forward end of the bow piece, consisting of a flattened conventionalized face. "There was a tendency to decorate the neck of the bow piece with figures carved in high relief or by the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia (14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e ĥitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*atua-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

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352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
513 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*, (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

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ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental.

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *ke'etu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest.

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs.

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward;

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon.

Carvings on Posts

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group.

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides: the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving.

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

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ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

1. Straight horizontal lines. Bands of these were used to separate zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones. This motif with its variations is shown in Figure 4, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.
2. Straight diagonal lines. Used to fill zones (fig. 4, *e*).
3. Series of parallel zigzag lines running horizontally (fig. 4, *f*).
4. Bands of alternate interlocking triangles (fig. 4, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles whose bases are formed by the sides of the zone. The interiors of these triangles are filled with lines parallel to the base, lines parallel to one side, or a series of V's whose sides are parallel to those of the triangle (fig. 4, *j*).
6. Large diamond shaped figures covering the length and breadth of a zone, leaving four triangles at the corners (fig. 4, *k*).
7. Small diamond shaped figures arranged in close order to fill an entire zone (fig. 4, *h*).
8. Irregular combinations of diagonal lines (fig. 6, *d*).

The Marquesans appear to have never used checkerwork, patterns formed of groups of small triangles, or cross hatching, in their house post decorations.

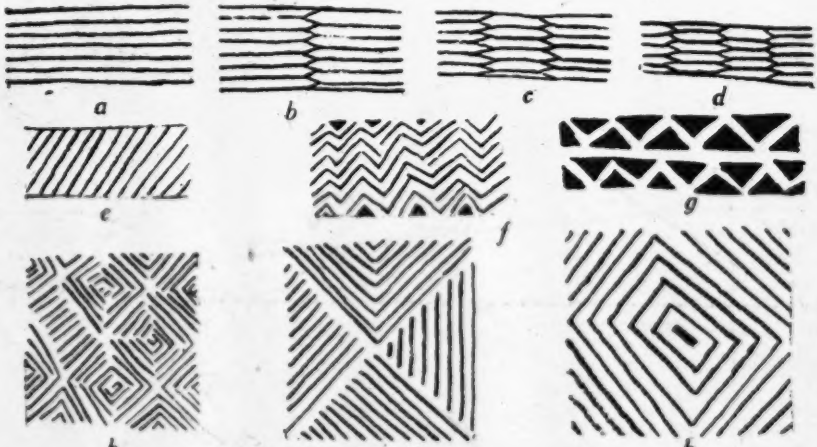

FIGURE 4.—Angular-geometric designs carved on house posts: *a*, straight horizontal grooves; *b*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-half the width of the post; *c*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post; *d*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth of the width of the post; *e*, diagonal lines; *f*, parallel zigzag lines; *g*, interlocking triangles; *h*, small diamond shaped figures; *j*, groups of four triangles; *k*, large diamond shaped figures. Reproduced from rubbings.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

The curvilinear designs used in house post decoration may be reduced to a few simple elements, but these are combined with each other and with angular-geometric designs to form a bewildering variety of patterns. The basic elements are:

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1. Circles, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *a*).
2. Ovals, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *b*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, either plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference, (fig. 5, *c*, *d*, *e*).
4. Series of parallel wavy lines (fig. 5, *b*.)
5. Irregular curves (fig. 5, *a*.)

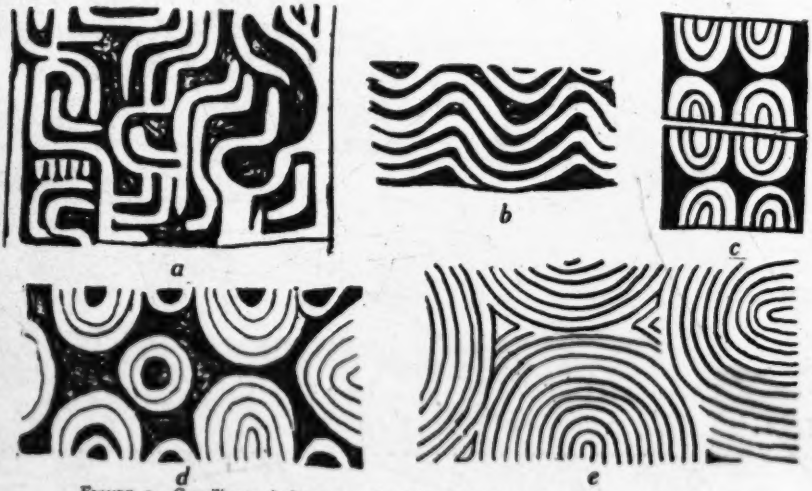

FIGURE 5.—Curvilinear designs carved on house posts: *a*, irregular curves; *c*, *d*, *e*, segments of circles or ovals; *b*, series of parallel wavy lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

When used in patterns the arrangement of these design elements is never perfectly symmetrical, although in some designs, notably those formed by four semicircles or semiovals (fig. 5, *a*), there is some approach to balance. Many of the patterns consist almost entirely of irregular curves and are completely unsymmetrical, no two elements corresponding in size or position. Interesting features of the curvilinear decoration are the complete absence of the conventionalized human faces used in all other forms of Marquesan carving and the practical absence of spiral forms.

COMBINED ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC AND CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

Angular-geometric and curvilinear designs frequently occur together in the same zone, the common arrangements being:

1. Curvilinear designs, especially concentric circles or ovals, superposed upon angular-geometric designs (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).
2. Curvilinear designs used to fill one or more of the elements of a geometric pattern.
3. Gradual transitions from angular-geometric to curvilinear designs, as in the case of some bands of parallel lines which grade imperceptably from zigzags at one end to wavy lines at the other. In all such combinations the angular-geometric motifs appear to be the basic ones.

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342 An interesting feature of the house post carvings is the occasional use of toothed
531 lines suggestive of those used by the Maori in many of their carvings. Examples of the use of such lines are shown in figure 6, *c*, *e*.

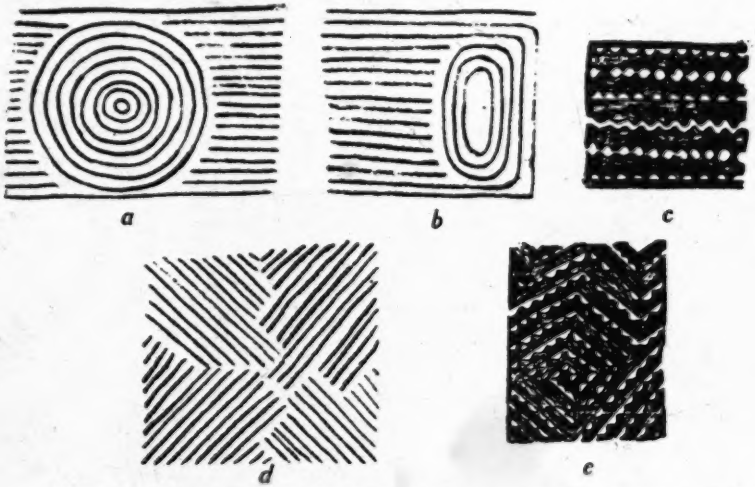

FIGURE 6.—Designs carved on house posts: *a*, circles superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *b*, ovals superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *c*, toothed lines; *d*, woven design; *e*, spiral with toothed lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

It is easy to conceive of the development of house post carving from an appreciation of the esthetic value of the adz marks left after the dressing of the timber. In many objects which are not actually carved these marks are arranged with evenness and regularity and give a decidedly ornamental effect. What may be considered as a intermediate stage between such adzing and actual carving was observed in a set of end posts from Nuku Hiva and another from Fatu Hiva. The inner surface of these posts had been adzed into a series of horizontal grooves six to eight inches wide with a maximum central depth of one-half inch, the ridges separating the grooves being narrow and sharp. The transition from such ornamental adzing to the simpler geometric designs would be easy.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

342 Ornamental lashings were probably more commonly used as decorations
531 for the house than carvings, but because of the perishable nature of the ma-
284 terials few examples have survived. The material employed for lashings was a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

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left side of the juncture of the rafter and crosspiece, and around the rafter just above the crosspiece from right to left. The half hitch was tightened and the strand brought into a vertical position on the outside of the crosspiece. The loose end was then passed across the vertical strand as close to the rafter as possible, down its right side, across it again at the bottom, and behind the rafter from left to right. The flatness of the sennit cord prevented this loop from slipping over the vertical strand. The cord was carried across the original strand and the first loop as close to the rafter as possible, up the left side of the original strand, and across the original strand and first loop at the top, close to the rafter. The cord was then passed behind the rafter from right to left. This was repeated until the oval had a width of five strands at the center. The end of the cord was then at the upper left hand corner of the figure. It was passed across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, across its bottom and up its left side behind the crosspiece. This completed the black part of the figure. The strands were pulled taut and the black cord carried on in front of the rafter to the next rafter to the right.

The brown cord, coming from the left, was brought across the top of the black lashing in front of the rafter, down its right side behind the crosspiece, across to the left, and around the rafter from left to right. The end was then at the lower right hand corner of the figure. Two loops up, around the rafter, and down on the opposite side of the figure were then made, the method being the same as that used with the black cord. This gave to the oval a width of nine strands, the two outer strands on each side being brown and the rest black. The cord was then carried across to the left, up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing again at the top, with the end carried on to the next rafter on the right.

The cross lashing was much more complicated. It can be made as follows: Bring the black cord from the left along the top of the crosspiece, pass it around the rafter from right to left, down over the crosspiece, around the rafter from left to right, up the left side of the rafter behind the crosspiece, and through the upper loop. Tighten lashing, pass the end down the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece and up, over the front of the crosspiece, placing it close against the original outside strand on the left. Pass the end downward behind the rafter diagonally to the right, bringing it out at the lower right corner. Bring it up over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter from left to right and diagonally down over the crosspiece right to left. Carry it behind the rafter from left to right, across the front of the rafter, and up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Wrap twice around the crosspiece and pass the end around the rafter below the crosspiece from left to right. Bring it up diagonally over the crosspiece from right to left, placing the cord close against the left side of the first diagonal. Pass the end around the rafter left to right, and bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left. Pass around rafter left to right, across to left in front of rafter, and up left side of lashing, behind crosspiece. Leave black.

Bringing the brown cord from the left pass it over the black lashing below the crosspiece, up the right side of the lashing, back to the left, and under itself from the rear. Pull the loop tight. Pass the brown cord twice around the crosspiece, taking care to have these strands lie on the left of the four black strands already in position and close against them. Pass the end around the rafter above the crosspiece from right to left, diagonally down over the crosspiece from left to right, around the rafter from right to left, up over the crosspiece diagonally to the right, and around the rafter from right to left. Leave brown.

This finishes the first half of the figure, and should give a vertical band of six strands, the two strands on the left being brown, which has on its right an X figure with arms three strands in width, the first strand on the left side of each arm being brown.

Take up the black cord, which was carried up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Carry it across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing, across the lashing again, and up behind the rafter diagonally left to right, the end emerging at the upper right hand corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally right to left, around rafter left to right, and up diagonally over the crosspiece right to left. Pass it down behind the rafter diagonally left to right. Wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry the end across the lashing below the crosspiece to the left, and up diagonally behind the rafter, emerg-

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ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing.

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings.

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure.

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and

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396 those of the supplementary breakwater, and two long poles like those of the stern platform
501 were lashed to these, one on each side. The tips of these poles projected forward almost to the figure head. In rear platforms the top of the cribwork was probably floored in some way. The platform was quite small, and according to the early accounts, was occupied by only one man.

DECORATION OF CANOES

501 Canoe decorations fall at once into two classes—carvings and decorations
531 incorporated into the canoe and temporary decorations. The use of ornamental lashings has been mentioned, but no details are available.

All informants agree that the bow and stern pieces, and less commonly the side planks, of large canoes were carved. The figurehead, at the forward end of the bow piece, consisted of single large flat tiki face but the designs used on the other parts of the canoe are said to have been either angular-geometric, like those used on house posts, or curvilinear like those used in tattooing. The bow and stern pieces of most canoe models are decorated with angular-geometric designs and these appear to have been more commonly employed on the actual
501 canoes. There was a tendency also to decorate the neck of the bow piece with
532 figures carved in high relief or by the attachment of separate pieces. One old canoe model (Pl. XLIII, *A*) has, down the center of the bow, two recumbent figures placed face up, with their feet together and their heads touching the front of the breakwater and the back of the figure head. They are carved in one piece with the bow, but are in almost full round, the only points of attachment being the tops of their heads and their buttocks. The bow piece of a second old model has down the center of the top a flat longitudinal ridge to which is lashed a thin vertical plank pierced with two large holes. The rear edge and bottom of this plank form a right angle and the forward edge is curved. In the picture of a Marquesan canoe given by Cook (14, p. 307) the bow has along its center three projections, evidently thin planks two or three feet long, which are recurved at the upper end, like pruning hooks, and have on the back two points. In front of these points large triangular holes are pierced through the plank. Porter (49, p. 79) says that some canoes of Ua Huka had on the bow a small board supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. The more recent models show no trace of these neck decorations. They seem to have been replaced by temporary decorations at an early time.

A small tiki figure was attached to the tip of some of the stern pieces. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that between the two sticks forming the tail of the canoe "a rude image of a god was suspended in a reclining posture." This is verified by a canoe model which has attached to the tip of the stern piece two broad wooden blades which project backward, diverging slightly. Between these blades there is a small tiki figure, facing the canoe in a nearly horizontal position. In Pua Ma'u a small full figure tiki was carved on the top of the tail piece.

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The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the *tevake* bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-hina* (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the information obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which

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distance up the blade. The two surfaces meet in a rounded edge into which the wings of the blade blend gradually. The knob proper is set at an angle with the neck, causing it to project slightly backward from the line of the blade. It is sharpened anteriorly and posteriorly except at the rear end of the outer surface, where it is sometimes flat. The knob thickens gradually from the neck to a point about two-thirds of its length from the base, then thins gradually to the tip, which is finished with a blunt edge. 501

This knob is the most characteristic feature of Marquesan paddles and its uniformity in shape and proportion in different specimens seems to indicate that it served some definite purpose. A number of explanations were given by the natives, the usual one being that it caused the paddle to make a pleasant sound when pushed through the water. Other explanations are: That the knob made the paddle a more effective club in sea fights; that it prevented the blade from being splintered when pushing off the rocks; that by means of it the paddle could be rested securely on the forked top of the outrigger; and that it kept the blade from side slipping in the water. The knob does fulfill all these purposes. A somewhat similar knob appears on paddles from Easter Island and Mangareva.

The manufacture of paddles of this sort called for a carefully preconceived design and great skill in execution. The finished instrument justifies the care expended upon it, however, for in balance and effectiveness these curiously shaped paddles are greatly superior to the European forms.

DECORATION OF PADDLES

In pre-European times paddles were decorated with carving applied to the knob at the upper end of the shaft, the blade, and possibly the terminal knob. Carved paddles are still manufactured in the Marquesas for sale to Europeans, and practically all specimens now in museums belong to this class. No authentic ancient specimen was seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the designs employed in the modern paddles are the same as those used in ancient times. 501 531

Two distinct techniques were employed. In paddles made of *mio* wood the designs were simply carved upon the surface. In paddles made of *hutu* wood (*Barringtonia speciosa*) on the other hand, the surface was first charred to blacken it, and the designs were then cut through the blackened wood to the natural white wood underneath, making the finished design show in sharply contrasted black and white. *Hutu* wood was rarely used for real paddles, and it seems doubtful whether this second technique was applied to paddle decoration in ancient times. 501 531 824

The knob at the upper end of the paddle shaft was carved either into two small tiki figures, placed back to back, or into two heads similarly arranged. The convention of representation was the usual one, flat features, spectacle eyes, and broad mouth. In some paddles the space between the figures was pierced. [832]

The paddle blades were elaborately carved on both the upper and lower surfaces, and in one specimen the decoration extended a short distance up the shaft. The area to be decorated was divided transversely into three or more zones which were treated as separate units. The lowest of these zones was semicircular, the outer edge corresponding to the bottom of the paddle blade. There was a strong tendency to make a large semicircular figure the principle feature of

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501 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence
●531 of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part
of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use through-
[824] out the group. These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe
[439] models. At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially
[824] to the side planks. Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

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412 chisels is much less satisfactory. It is certain that the Marquesans, like the Maori, did employ hafted chisels, but no old specimens are now extant.

Adz Haftings

Only three hafted adzes were seen and one of these was made by the informant who made the chisels. The other two specimens were of considerable age, and all three agreed closely in form. The blades in all three specimens were of *toki kouma* type. The use of other forms of blade may have necessitated slight changes in the form of the haft.

[824] Adz handles were usually made of fau wood, care being taken to select old trees as the young shoots are too soft and brittle for the purpose. In one chant the use of *noni* roots is indicated and in another that of *mio* wood (Handy personal correspondence). A branch and a section of the trunk immediately above it were detached, and the natural hook thus obtained was worked down into a more or less smoothly rounded elbow having the two sides of unequal length. The long arm served as the handle and was made from the branch, the short arm to which the blade was attached, was made from the trunk. The entire haft was thickest at the curve of the elbow, the diameter of the two arms gradually decreasing toward their ends. A socket for the blade was cut in the outer surface of the short arm. The upper end of this socket was at about the level of the inside of the curve at the elbow. The form of this socket naturally varied with that of the blade it was intended to accommodate. In all the specimens seen, the socket was flat, running the entire width of the handle and being cut squarely across, or only slightly rounded at the upper end, but many of the blades collected must have required a socket semicircular or triangular in cross section, and tapering toward the upper end so as to fit the contour of the blade accurately.

412 284 The tang was wrapped in two or three thicknesses of tapa, which were so arranged that they intervened everywhere between the stone and the lashings, and socket. The purpose of this wrapping was to increase the friction of the lashings and keep them from loosening. The lashings themselves were made of [824] three plait coconut fiber cord of medium weight, and although carefully laid on were not ornamental in the specimens seen. According to informants ornamental ● [531] lashings of red and black sennit were used on at least some special adzes. (Handy, personal correspondence.)

The arrangement of the lashings in two specimens was very simple, consisting of a single cord beginning at the lower end and passing round the blade and haft. The loose lower end of the cord was carried back up the inner surface of the haft and held in place by the subsequent turns of the lashing. The upper end was thrust down under the two or three uppermost laps on the inner surface

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227 171 In Hawaii artifacts in every way identical with this object are quite common and were used as sinkers for squid hooks. The Marquesas was an important point of call for whalers in early days, and the first missionaries to establish themselves in the group were Hawaiians, so it is probable that this object was imported from that group during the historic period.

ANCHORS

501 Native accounts of the ancient fishing methods mention the use of anchors, but it seems probable that these were simply rough stones. A single worked specimen was seen in Taiohae, Nuka Hiva. It consisted of a conical stone of oval cross section about 10 inches high and 7 inches in diameter, through the upper end of which a hole about ¾ of an inch in diameter had been pierced. The natives were unable to identify this specimen, and as it was found among the debris of a trader's store it may be either of European workmanship or due to European influence.

PIPES

276 324 [539] The use of tobacco in the Marquesas is almost certainly post-European, but the plant was cultivated there very early in the historic period. Clay pipes in burial caves that contain no other evidences of European contact indicate that they were among the earliest trade objects and most of the stone pipes appear to have been made at a time when the native culture had undergone little, if any, change. The clay pipes referred to are clearly the prototype from which the stone pipes were evolved, but the Marquesan pipe makers were no slavish imitators and their work shows considerable originality.

The material used was a rather soft, even-textured volcanic rock, and the shaping was probably done with metal tools, although the fine finish of most of the specimens makes it impossible to say whether such tools were always used. The bowl form was like that of the European clay pipes of the early nineteenth century, but the other features vary greatly. The simplest form is shown on Plate XLIX, *C*. It consists of a simple bowl 1⅜ inches long and about ¾ of an inch wide, with a hole pierced in one side for the stem. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a short cylindrical knob.

A more elaborate specimen, seen in Hanahehe, Hiva Oa, consisted of a similar bowl, without the knob, which had at the bottom two projections ⅜ of an inch long, placed directly opposite each other. Both these projections were drilled to take stems. The bowl was covered with lightly incised designs which had been [531] almost obliterated by handling. The use of multiple stems appears to have been rather common and according to reliable informants some specimens had as many as four.

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412 rather abruptly, and the ends are almost vertical. The top bears a longitudinal groove instead of the usual transverse one. In No. 2 the head is smoothly rounded, with a short transverse groove.

Tiki Headed Pounders

412 Tiki headed *popoi* pounders represent the highest development of Marquesan stone working, the only objects which approach them in excellence being
● 531 certain of the small stone figures. The expedition was fortunate enough to obtain five perfect specimens and the carved head of a sixth, while ten others were studied in private collections or from photographs. In all of these pounders the carving followed one or the other of two well-marked conventions and the series appears large enough to make possible a fairly accurate study of the type. In spite of their fine workmanship and present rarity tiki headed pounders were, and in some cases still are, used as ordinary household utensils. All informants agree that the carvings are purely decorative and have no religious significance.

In general form the tiki headed pounders agree perfectly with the angular headed type of phallic pounder already described, and it seems certain that they have been developed from these implements. According to informants the carv-
[324] ing was done with sharks' teeth or rats' teeth, but the form of the carving tools and the method of employment have been forgotten. In the actual specimens the grooves of the carving are semicircular in cross section and exhibit a high polish.

The decoration consists of two heads, formed by carving a face upon each of the lobes of a phallic pounder of normal angular type. In carving these faces two distinct conventions were employed, one of which appears to have been rare, being shown by only three of the sixteen specimens. In the normal convention the features are carved in low relief and the decorated top is set off from the neck of the pounder by a well marked groove. Each of the faces covers the entire surface of a lobe, its center line being in the middle of the outer end. The mouths are broad, in the form of long narrow ovals with rounded ends. The tongue is shown as a narrow longitudinal ridge, and the lips are broad, with a flat or slightly concave surface. In one specimen there is a narrow band between the lips and the tongue, which may represent the teeth. Immediately behind each corner of the mouth a small decoration in the form of a "V" is sometimes carved. The nose is broad and flat, with almost semicircular nostrils. The eyes are carved on the upper corners of the lobe and are directed toward the side rather than forward, and the space between them is disproportionately wide. The eyes are of the usual spectacle form—a raised ring encircling a convex center—and are connected to the base of the nose at the inner end and to the ear at the outer end by narrow raised bands. As a rule the eyes are horizontal, but some specimens show a slight upward or downward inclination. The ears are represented as double scrolls, and are so placed that their outer edges fall along the line of the inner edge of each lobe. There is a well marked groove above either eye. The top of the head may be either rounded or pointed, while in one specimen broad flat grooves have been carved along either side above the eye groove, giving the head a sharp central keel. The space on the side of the pounder below the ears and between the corners of the mouths of the two faces is filled with either one or two small block figures bearing incised designs. In one specimen (not shown) a small block figure of this sort is placed in the middle of the forehead of either face.

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The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows:

> The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows.

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.)

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 524 also have been used as pestles to grind medicines or pigment. According to informants little pounders of this sort were made for an adopted child in order that he might pound food for his pig. All those seen were miniature reproductions of *popoi* pounders, although never of phallic type. One specimen, of *opu* type, is only 3¼ inches high and 3 inches wide at the base. (See Pl. LIV, *B*.)

CONICAL POUNDERS

412 531 The natives recognized Conical Pounders as a distinct class, but they appear to have no name for them and can assign no special use; so the recognition is probably nothing more than a realization that these implements differ from all other pounders and cannot be placed in any of the regular categories. They are rare; only five examples were located.

The conical pounders are characterized by heavy conical bodies which entirely lack the slender neck and graceful bottom flare of ordinary *popoi* pounders, and by the peculiar finish of the upper end, which bears a short transverse grip. In four of the five specimens this part is carved. In the uncarved specimen, the grip is formed by two short cylindrical knobs which jut out from opposite sides of the top of the implement. Between their inner ends there is a rounded transverse ridge. (See Pl. LII, *F*.) Two of the carved pounders are large and two small. The size, shape and decoration of each pair are so closely similar as to indicate that they are either the work of the same artist or examples of an established type.

In the small pounders (Pl. LII, *D*) the grip is carved into a single human head, disproportionately large, with the face up.

The treatment of the head is decidedly naturalistic, the face being long and narrow with a projecting jaw. The mouth is almost circular, with thick rounded lips and a protruding tongue. The nose is high, with a sharp bridge; the cheeks sunken; and the eyes are in the form of long ovals, with a slight groove indicating the lower lid. The ears are indicated by shapeless knobs which are set above the level of the outer corner of the eye and do not appear to be connected to it. There is a suggestion of a smoothly rounded supra-orbital ridge. The head above the face is round and disproportionately short, its back projecting only slightly beyond the neck of the implement. In both specimens the execution is rather poor, the eyes being at slightly different levels.

In the large pounders (Pl. LII, *E*) the horizontal grip is divided into two equal parts by a transverse groove.

Each of these lobes is carved into a head, chin out. These heads, although worked out in less detail, are evidently much more closely related to these on the small pounders just described than to the ordinary Marquesan convention. They show the same projecting jaw, high nose, sunken cheeks, long oval eye, and knob ear. The mouth is not indicated. The carving is remarkably angular, suggesting the use of metal tools, but from certain details of the specimen examined it seems certain that they are pre-European.

These conical pounders offer an interesting problem, for they differ considerably from all other Marquesan types in both shape and decoration. The uncarved specimen was said by its donor to have been found in a sand dune in a small valley on the north side of Nuku Hiva. It is heavily patinated, suggesting a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

considerable age. Of the carved specimens, one large and one small specimen are from Nuku Hiva and the other two from Hiva Oa. 412 531

In all five pounders the material appears to be local, and as the use of carved decoration on pounders is limited to the Marquesas, the theory of importation may be discarded. The heads carved on the small examples show a slight resemblance to those carved on the rarer type of tiki headed pounders, but the angularity of the features on the larger specimens finds no parallel in other Marquesan work. A similar angularity was noted, however, in some of the wood carvings in the Society Islands. The form of these specimens also finds a fairly close parallel in certain small specimens from Tahiti and in certain pounders of coral rock from the Austral Islands. The similarity of the decoration on all Marquesan conical pounders seems good evidence that it represents a distinct convention which was in some way linked with the conical form. The best explanation of these facts seems to be that the conical pounders are hybrids which owe their shape, and to a lesser degree the convention employed in their decoration, to a Southeastern Polynesian influence. An alternative explanation is that the conical pounders are archaic and that their carving shows a technique which is more primitive than the historic Marquesan convention.

COMPARISON OF MARQUESAN POUNDERS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN TYPES

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Stone pounders appear to be entirely lacking in Melanesia unless we include under this head certain heavy, bottle-shaped implements used for cracking nuts in the Solomon Islands and some archaeological finds in New Guinea. In Micronesia, stone pounders were used in the Marshall and Caroline islands but seem to be lacking in the Gilbert Islands. In the Marshall Islands at least, they were used side by side with wooden pounders of identical shape. All the Micronesian pounders appear to be of one type, with some minor variations in the treatment of the upper surface of the head. They have been frequently described and figured.

The pounders of Polynesia must not be confused with the pestles which were found in many parts of Polynesia, but seem to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

Stone pounders do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga but are found everywhere in marginal Polynesia with the possible exception of Easter and Chatham Islands. The New Zealand pounders appear to be pestles rather than true pounders and bear little resemblance to the other Polynesian forms. The absence of broad based pounders in New Zealand is of little significance in a comparative study, for these were specialized implements used principally for crushing breadfruit or taro and would have been of little use there,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CONTAINERS

The Marquesans use a great variety of containers which may be divided into two main classes: natural containers, such as bamboos, coconut shells and gourds, which need little preparation for use; and wooden containers, which require considerable skill in manufacture. The wooden containers are by far the more important in the Marquesas and are well represented in most museum collections.

NATURAL CONTAINERS

JOINTS OF BAMBOO

The Marquesans, like all peoples living in regions where the larger species of bamboo grow, used joints of bamboo to transport and store fluids. Small bottles, made from a single joint, do not appear to have been used, as their place was taken by more convenient utensils of gourd or coconut shell. Large bottles were made by cutting bamboo shoots three inches or more in diameter into sections from 10 to 20 feet long and piercing the septa between the joints, forming a pipe closed at one end. The piercing is now done with an iron rod heated red; the ancient method could not be ascertained. When in use the upper end of the tube was filled with a plug of green leaves. Bamboo bottles were purely utilitarian and were never decorated.

COCONUT SHELLS

The climate and soil of the Marquesas are ideally adapted for the growth of coconuts, the trees bearing profusely and producing nuts of remarkable size. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natives made an extensive use of coconut shells as containers and that they developed considerable skill in the manufacture and decoration of utensils of this kind.

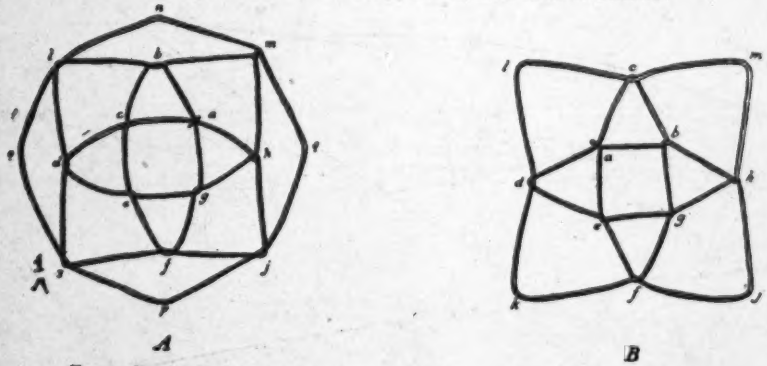
The half shell of a coconut constituted a natural cup which could be used without preparation. The first improvements upon this original form appear to have been the smoothing of the edge by grinding and the removal, also by grinding, of the small external point which prevented the cup from standing upright. Cups and bowls made in this way are still occasionally used. The next step is to remove the tough inner skin and rub the outer surface smooth; rubbing-stones and burnishers are used for this work. As a final improvement the cups were either carved or ground thin. Carved cups were given a smooth finish and then decorated by the same methods and with the same designs as wooden containers. To make the thin, uncarved cups both the outer and inner surfaces were ground away until the walls were only slightly thicker than egg shell china. They were then thoroughly impregnated with oil, making them elastic and capable of withstanding quite heavy usage. When first finished, the surfaces of coconut

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

GOURDS

The Marquesans appear to have made a rather limited use of gourd containers. No gourd plants were seen growing, but from a comparison of the utensils collected with those in the Bishop Museum the species was probably *Lagenaria vulgaris*. According to informants, both necked bottles and neckless containers were formerly used, but all the specimens seen were neckless and were called by the natives *hue*. To make a *hue* the ripe gourd was plucked from the vine while still soft and the stem and adjacent shell cut away to form a round aperture three inches or more in diameter. The seeds and pulp were emptied out and the shell carefully dried in the shade. The interior was then scoured smooth with beach sand. Utensils of this sort appear never to have been decorated and ornamental shapes made by deforming the growing fruit had never been heard of by the informants questioned. All the *hue* seen were comparatively small, the largest being slightly under one foot in diameter, but the size of some of the wooden *hue* tops seen in burial caves would indicate that much larger utensils of this sort were formerly used. (See Pl. LVIII, *E*).

When in use the *hue* was supported and protected by a network of cords similar in principle to the Hawaiian *koko* (net), but rather inferior in design and execution. The manufacture of these nets has been discontinued and only two specimens were seen in the group, both in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. Both were made of coconut fiber cord. Ordinary sennit of the sort used for house lashings was used for one specimen, and for the other, a flat five strand plait. The form of the nets may be seen from the accompanying sketches. For *hue* No. 1, on Plate LVIII, *E*, the process of manufacture appears to have been as follows:



A *B*

FIGURE 7.—Sketches of network of cords used to support gourd containers.

1 ∧ [this should be k, in light of description on page 358—Analyst]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 286 A large loop was first formed, one end of the cord being tied and left at *A*. (See fig. 7, *A*.) The loops *abc*, *cde*, and *efg* were then made in the order named. The direction was then reversed and the loops *ghij*, *fkd*, and *dlb* formed. The direction was then again reversed and the loops *bmnl*, *lok*, *kpj*, and *jqm*[1] made. From *m* the cord was carried to *h* and thence to *a*, where it was knotted in beside its other end. The points *n*, *o*, *p* and *q* projected above the top of the *hue* and served for suspension. The dimensions of the different meshes are: *a* to *c*, 4½ inches; *a* to *b*, 4½ inches; *b* to *l*, 6¼ inches; *l* to *n*, 5 inches. The mesh, with the exception of the outermost loops, is drawn to scale. The knot employed is uniform except at the points *h* and *a*. It is a complicated wrap knot for which no name is known.

The net of *hue* No. 2 on the same plate, although superficially resembling that of *hue* No. 1, is made on an entirely different principle. (See fig. 7, *B*.)

The netting was not begun with a ring, the course of the cord being *a*, *b*, *c*, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *f*, *k*, *d*, *l*, *c*, *l*, *h*, *b*, *g*, *e*, to *a*. Here the two ends are spliced together into a single cord of the size used throughout and tied about the line *cd*. A loop of cord was passed through the outermost meshes at *l*, *m*, *k* and *j*, to serve as a handle, its ends being tied together in a heavy knot. The mesh sizes are: *a* to *b*, 4¼ inches; *a* to *d*, 5 inches; *d* to *l*, 7½ inches. Two types of wrapped knots were used in different parts of the net.

[284]

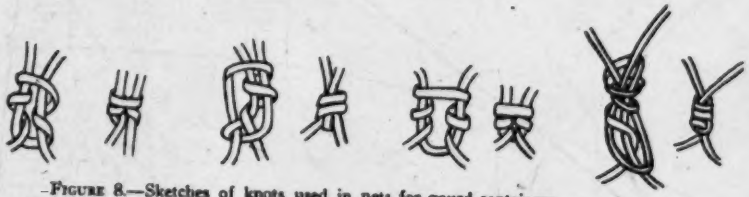


FIGURE 8.—Sketches of knots used in nets for gourd containers.

The widely divergent technique of the two specimens would seem to indicate a considerable variety for these objects in ancient times.

415 Gourd *hue* were normally provided with wooden covers, which were all made according to a fixed pattern. To one ignorant of its use such a cover would appear to be a small squat broad mouthed jar, with a rounded bottom, flatly convex to hemispherical body, a short neck whose sides sloped inward slightly toward the top, and a wide flat shoulder whose upper surface sloped inward and downward to the base of the neck. When used as a cover, the jar was inverted, the neck fitting into the orifice of the *hue*, the shoulder resting upon its top. The body of the cover rose above the *hue* as a small dome, and was frequently carved, [531] the decoration consisting of two tiki faces placed opposite each other. The space above and between these faces was filled with shallow parallel grooves running continuously from edge to edge. In spite of their form, *hue* tops appear never to have been used as separate containers, and they were probably hollowed only for the sake of lightness. (See Pl. LVIII, *F*.)

[1] [this should read jqm, in light of illustration on page 357. [98] —Analyst]

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WOODEN CONTAINERS

The Marquesans made a great variety of wooden containers all of which may be placed in one or the other of two main groups: boxes, and bowls or dishes. The objects of each of these classes show considerable individual variation, and in the case of covered containers it is often difficult to say whether a given specimen is a bowl or a box.

BOXES

Wooden boxes, used for the storage of valuables, formed part of the equipment of every well-to-do Marquesan family. Such boxes were hewn from large pieces of wood by the processes described under bowl manufacture. (See p. 360.) The favorite materials were breadfruit, temanu and *mio*. The boxes varied greatly in size and in minor details of form and decoration, but all the specimens seen were clearly of a single type. They were made in two parts, a body and a lid. (See Pl. LIX, *A*.)

The body was oval in outline, with a more or less rounded bottom and considerably recarved sides; the upper edge was finished in a narrow flat rim which was broadened at either end. At one end of the body a large knob projected above the rim, while at the opposite end the body was either flattened or bore a short flat-ended horizontal projection. The lid was rounded on the outside, excavated inside, and bore along the inner edge of its rim a thin downward projecting flange which accurately fitted the orifice of the body. The end which rested against the knob of the body when the lid was in position was either flat or notched. The opposite end was elongated and provided on the under side with a short downward projection like a thick blunt hook, which rested against the outside of the body.

In one specimen, which differs in other details from the normal type, the rear end of the lid bears an upward projection corresponding to the knob of the body. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.) In well made boxes the lid fits the body so closely that it is frequently difficult to remove it. The whole utensil appears to be a more or less modified bird form, the body knob representing the head; the horizontal projection of the lid, the tail. (See Pl. LIX, *C*.) Boxes were frequently carved and the designs were usually the same as those used upon bowls. The first step apparently was to carve the body knob into a tiki face, and specimens in which this constitutes the sole decoration are not uncommon, although the more ornate examples are carved all over. In one crudely carved specimen in the Bishop Museum the designs show a preponderance of angular-geometric figures coupled with small line representations of human beings which are not of tiki type. (See Pl. LIX, *B*.)

BOWLS AND DISHES

Wooden bowls and dishes are probably more numerous in ethnological collections than any other objects of Marquesan manufacture, as the elaborate carvings with which many of them are decorated make them eagerly sought after by collectors. They still form part of the equipment of every native household

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thus consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years.

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary:

Kotipu. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities).
Kotihu. Dish.
Kopuha. Kind of native dish.
Kokomo. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kokipe. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiapo. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipo. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kapo. Vase for kava.
Kaipu. All vases.
Ipu. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hue. All vases with large openings.
Hue mooi. Calabash.
Tipoui. Dish.
Tihara, Tiharahara. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Tanoa. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahaka. Small dish.
Tahae. Oblong dish.
Tahaha. Large dish for popoi.
Puru hue. Small dish.
Pihara, Piarahara. Native dish.
Papa katua. Covered dish for popoi.
Maae tapu. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Akuipoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants.

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One specimen was described as having a very short loop of cord passed through a large ring of carved bone, which served for suspension. In very large feast bowls the handle was made of a heavy plaited cord of coconut fiber whose ends were attached at two points, four to five inches apart. Such handles were usually encased in a series of bone tubes, made from the small bones of the lower arm or leg. These were similar to the tubes used on the cord handles of coconut shell bowls. The native name of these tubes was not ascertained but according to Handy (32) Dordillon gives a term, *ripoo*, which he defines as "a piece of bone to ornament dishes or drums." It seems probable that this refers to the small carved figures rather than the simple corrugated rings, for the rings were not used on drums so far as could be learned. It is rather interesting that the large feast bowls had handles on the side only, indicating that the handles were used to suspend or drag them, not to carry them.

Wooden handles, cut in one piece with the bowl, are very rare in the circular forms—only three examples were found.

In one of these specimens there are four small, equally spaced projections a short distance below the rim. These projections are carved into peculiar little double figures, and as the rest of the bowl is uncarved the projections are probably intended for ornament, although they could have been used for handles.

Another bowl seen in a native household, had a flat handle about six inches long projecting from one side of the rim. The shape of this handle was identical with that of an ordinary American frying pan, and it seems probable that this development was due to European influence. Still another bowl (Pl. LIX, *E*) now in the Bishop Museum, is egg shaped rather than round.

It is a rather deep well-made bowl, 9 inches wide and 10½ inches long to the base of the handle. The handle springs from one side of the rim and is 3¼ inches long and an inch wide in the center. The outer end is expanded both laterally and vertically, and the tip has a deep vertical notch. The whole handle has very much the shape of the distal end of a human humerus, and may very well have been modeled after one.

It seems probable that covers were employed with some types of round bowl other than the *hue po'o* just described, but if so their use has been discontinued for many years and no examples have been preserved or described.

Some round bowls, especially those of recent manufacture, are provided with low circular bases. A similar feature is found in certain tureen-like oval forms (p. 365). Most of the natives believe that this feature is a recent innovation, copied from the Chinese rice bowls introduced by European traders. On the other hand, a very beautifully carved bowl in the possession of Mme. Mallius, of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, shows this feature, although it is obviously an old specimen. It seems probable, therefore, that if the circular base is non-Marquesan it was introduced during the early period of contact.

The transition from round bowls to the oval and rectangular forms appears to be a gradual one, every step being represented by a few examples. No. 1 shown on Plate LX, *A*, is especially interesting in this connection as it has all the features of an ordinary round bowl except that the rim is slightly flattened on

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Oval dishes and trays are now obsolete, but seem formerly to have been rather common. They were of all sizes; examples as much as five feet in length are remembered. Smoothly rounded inside and out, they had no distinct sides. Some specimens showed a distinct flat rim. In a large specimen of this type in the Bishop Museum one end of the rim bears a short upward projection cut into two levels, like steps, but as no examples of this were seen in the group its purpose was not ascertained. (See Pl. LX, *C*.)

Stewart (59, pp. 331-332) speaks of a large trough "rudely sculptured at one end into a head gaping hideously, as if to devour all who approach," which he saw in a *me'ae* of Nuka Hiva. At the time of his visit it contained a decaying human sacrifice. Very large oval bowls with tight fitting covers are also mentioned by early visitors, but no examples appear to have survived.

Small oval bowls having at one end a projecting neck terminating in a knob, and at the other a flat tipped projecting tail flush with the rim, appear to have been rather common in ancient times. In one specimen of this type (Pl. LXI, *B*, 1) which was found in a burial cave and is probably pre-European, the knob is carved into a fine tiki head, directed forward and slightly upward, and the lower side of the neck is encircled by a row of small perforations which were probably intended for the attachment of hair or feather ornaments. In another specimen (No. 2 in the same illustration), also old, the outer end of the knob is pointed and its upper surface is carved into a legless tiki whose face is nearly horizontal. This specimen has on either side a short distance below the rim, a horizontal flange, the whole form being obviously a modification of a bird effigy. Two holes for the attachment of cords are drilled near the tips of the knob and of the tail. The relation between the bowls of this type and the bodies of the boxes (p. 359) is evident, and it is difficult to determine to which class some specimens belong.

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, contain an elaborately carved bowl having at either end a flat projecting handle. A similar specimen with the handles carved into grotesque heads is figured by Christian (10, p. 148). Both specimens are obviously recent work, probably made for sale. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were copied from any European form, a point of importance in our consideration of the next type.

Marquesan utensils having an oval body, a low round base placed centrally, and a projecting knob handle at either end, are quite common in collections (Pl. LXI, *A*). They are frequently provided with a domed cover having upon its center a knob handle, and are always elaborately carved. The resemblance of many of these utensils to European soup tureens is striking, and old

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box to the marginal, and the round box to the western culture. Vessels with legs are common in Western Polynesia and in the Society Islands, but are rare in Hawaii. They are absent in the Marquesas, and the only utensils which approach this form in New Zealand are certain large gourds used for potting birds which, according to Tregear (82, p. 98), were fitted with three or four legs to make them stand upright. It is probable, therefore, that the use of legs cut in one piece with the utensil was a feature of the western culture, their absence a feature of the eastern.

A comparison of Marquesan and Micronesian containers yields some interesting results. The Micronesian containers are uniformly flat bottomed and many are provided with bases. The Marquesan containers are round bottomed and the aboriginal use of a base is questionable. The bases of modern utensils appear identical with those used in the Pelew group. (Kubary, 76, Plates 23-7.) Bird shaped containers similar to those of the Marquesas were used in Pelew and the Caroline Islands. (See Finsch, 73, p 321, and Wilson, 83, p. 102.) These bird forms are not found in any other part of Polynesia or Micronesia.

Melanesian containers have never been studied or described as a whole, but it seems certain that the long oval box, which is a feature of eastern Polynesian culture, does not occur in this region. Legged utensils on the other hand are rather common, being most numerous in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji. Bases similar to those of the Pelew and Marquesas Islands seem to have been rather common in the Solomon Islands.

DECORATION OF CONTAINERS

Marquesan containers were decorated by several methods of which carving was the most important. The handles were decorated with seeds and bone tubes, and feathers or locks of hair seem to have been attached to the bodies of some of the containers. The lids of some bowls were covered with an incrustation of red or black seeds imbedded in breadfruit gum. Single red seeds, applied here and there, were used to heighten the effect of the carving, especially when the container was made of the dark colored *mio* wood. These seeds were either wedged in deep grooves of the carving or partly imbedded in the wood. This imbedding of seeds is an approach to inlaying, but it is significant that in spite of the strong aesthetic sense of the Marquesans and their extensive use of bone and mother of pearl in personal ornaments, they appear never to have inlaid wood with these materials.

The elaborate carved decoration of many Marquesan containers made them much sought after by collectors, and the demand for objects of this sort has led to a persistence of the art, although in a rather decadent form. In pre-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

In pre-
415 European times the carving was done with sharks' teeth, rats' teeth, or shells, but
● 531 for nearly a century these implements have been replaced by implements of iron.
322 Practically all the tools now used by carvers are home-made and are crude, but effective. They consist of small chisels, made from large nails ground to a straight edge; curved chisels, also made from nails, and small gouges, which are usually made from umbrella ribs. Knives are apparently never used for carving.

Containers are always completely shaped and polished as if for use before carving, a practise which increases the difficulties of the artist as it makes it impossible to conceal any slips of the chisel. The bowl to be carved is soaked in a stream for some time to soften the wood, and when not being worked on is usually kept in water. Only beginners draw the designs upon the utensil before carving; the skilled workman carves entirely free hand and arranges the spacing of even the most intricate designs entirely by eye. The chisel, usually fixed in a rough wooden handle, is held with the bit below the hand, and the carver appears to work with equal facility either toward or away from the body. The incision is first marked out by pressing the chisel into the wood vertically, and is then made by pushing the tool along horizontally, with one corner of the bit at the bottom of the original vertical cut and the edge, sloping upward to the surface of the bowl at a variable angle. A long triangular sliver is thus removed; any irregularities in the cutting are dressed down with small chisels. In a very large proportion of the carved specimens all the incisions have this triangular form, but when wide spaces are to be cut away they are outlined by two cuts of the sort just described, the wood between is removed, and the bottom of the space dressed flat or left with a low central ridge. Curved chisels are used to dress the vertical sides of incisions in curved designs, while the gouges are used principally for small details or shallow designs which are incised rather than carved.

Modern carvers have a strong tendency to enlarge and simplify the details of the designs and broaden the incisions in order to increase the speed of production.

415 Carved decoration appears to have been most commonly used upon round
531 bowls, next in frequency being the boxes and the tureen-like covered dishes. At least some of the other forms were probably carved in pre-European times but no carved *toto* or oval bowls, with the exception of the bird effigies, are known. Bird effigies and some boxes were carved only upon the projecting knob, and a few bowls and dishes were decorated with a carved band below the rim, but as a rule the carving covered the entire outside of the utensil. In applying the designs the surface was rarely, if ever, treated as a whole, being broken up into a number of sections which were treated as separate units. In the actual process of carving the outlining of these sections upon the bowl was the first step, and the filling designs were applied afterward. A symmetrical arrangement of the sections appears to have always been intended, and there is usually more or less agreement between the filling designs of corresponding sections. In decorating a circular bowl the bottom was usually treated as a single unit, although it was sometimes divided into two or more parts. The sides were divided either into horizontal zones or vertical sections, and the boundaries marked either by plain

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

grooves or by narrow bands of design. On account of the shape of the vessel the vertical sections were wider at the top than at the bottom. Some specimens show both horizontal and vertical divisions. On boxes and other oval containers the arrangement of the sections appears to have been variable.

CLASSIFICATION OF DESIGNS

The material available for a study of container designs is limited. Only one of the carved containers studied appears to belong to other than the later period of European contact, and the bulk of the specimens in museums are unquestionably commercial products. Most of the modern work indicates a sacrifice of quality to quantity of production, which shows itself in slipshod work, simplification of the designs used, and an increasing tendency toward angularity. Each of the modern carvers has a tendency to ignore all but a few motifs, which he has learned to reproduce rapidly and accurately. As a result of this the work of a given carver, or that of his pupils, can at once be distinguished in a mixed collection. The style of many of the older specimens seems to indicate that a similar individual specialization in designs existed at least thirty or forty years ago, but it is impossible to say definitely that such was the case. It is probable that distinct local or individual schools of decoration existed in pre-European times; but if so, their content and differences can not now be established. The modern carvers appear to have borrowed few, if any, European motifs, and the present art is a simplified rather than a mixed one.

The simple division of designs into angular-geometric and curvilinear, used in the study of house post decorations, is unsatisfactory for containers. The best classification appears to be as follows: (1) band decorations, (2) angular-geometric designs used to fill sections, (3) design elements, (4) motifs, (5) representations of natural objects.

(1) BAND DECORATIONS

Band decorations consist of various arrangements of dots, straight lines and angles, with one arrangement of spirals, employed upon the spaces separating sections of design, and to some extent upon design elements. Bands appear rarely, if ever, to have been used to fill sections. Band designs are shown on Plate LXII as follows:

A. Straight parallel lines.
B. Straight rows of dots, used either singly or in parallel.
C. Parallel diagonal lines.
D. Herringbone patterns.
E. Cross-hatching.
F. Zigzag parallel lines, either longitudinal or transverse.
G and *H.* Alternate interlocking triangles, solid or filled with V's or with lines parallel to one side.

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J. Alternate interlocking triangles separated by parallel diagonal lines.
K. Two rows of opposed triangles, the spaces between being filled with concentric diamonds or broken scrolls.
L. Bands of oblongs placed transversely at intervals equal to their width.
M. A combination of *L* with a row of inverted triangles, the apex of each triangle resting against the end of an oblong.
N. A combination of *L* with a zigzag line, apparently a modification of *M*.
O. Rows of pointed half ovals, each oval containing a spiral.

(2) ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS

Angular-geometric designs were rarely used to fill sections. The collection included only two specimens decorated in this way. One of these is a large feast bowl from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, decorated entirely with simple angular-geometric designs, most of which are like those used upon house posts. The other is a crudely carved box, locality unknown, which bears very few designs of ordinary container type. The designs used are shown on Plate XLII, *P*.

1. Four triangles meeting at the apex, their interiors being filled with V's.
2. Groups of diamonds filled with concentric diamonds or angular scrolls.

(3) DESIGN ELEMENTS

The designs here described (Pl. LXIII, *A*), although sometimes enlarged to fill entire sections, were usually incorporated into complex motifs or used to fill in the parts of a section not covered by the main motif.

A. Spirals are the commonest element of Marquesan bowl design. Both single and double spirals are employed. A few examples are true spirals of nearly circular outline. Some are triangular but the greatest number are rectangular. The double spirals appear in several forms with the turns both in the same and opposite directions. (Drawings 1-5.)

B. Circles appear to have been normally used only to outline the section of decoration covering the bottom of round bowls. Only one example of a series of concentric circle used to fill a section was found. (Drawing 6.)

C. Ovals and rectangles grade imperceptibly into each other and it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other. Both were employed either as fill, or in enlarged form, to decorate entire sections. The interiors of these figures were usually filled with concentric ovals or rectangles. (Drawings 7 and 9.)

D. Pointed ovals were ordinarily used only as parts of more complex motifs and were less common than the ovals of class *7*. They were filled either with concentric ovals or with herringbone patterns. (Drawing 8.)

E. Segments of ovals were extensively employed as fill and as portions of more elaborate motifs. They were usually filled with either concentric half or quarter ovals or with hooks. (Drawings 10-12.)

F. Combs, half ovals or half rectangles whose interiors were filled with short parallel lines perpendicular to the long axis of the figure, were employed principally as details of larger motifs. (Drawings 13 and 14.)

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G. Pokaa is the name given a small circle, oval or rectangle broken at some point in its circumference. In the container designs *pokaa* figures grade imperceptibly into small circles bisected by a groove or bar, and from these into various forms of double spiral and scroll. The term is used here to include all figures of this class not certainly spirals or scrolls although its native application is probably more limited. The extent of the variation can be seen from the accompanying plate taken from those used upon commercial clubs. The *pokaa* was used to a minor degree upon bowls, and is fairly common in modern carving, but appears to have been primarily a tattooing design. It was also used on ancient war clubs. Arrangements of two *pokaa* placed back to back and joined by a bar do not appear to have been used in tattooing, but are found in the carving. (See drawings 15 to 20.)

H. The natives designate a series of concentric circles, ovals or rectangles broken by a bar or groove extending from the center to beyond the rim as *cipuoto*. These figures grade into *pokaa* and the two motifs are closely related. They are of only minor importance upon bowls, but appear in tattooing, upon house posts, and as petroglyphs. From their use in rock carvings it seems probable that these designs have a special significance, being possibly a conventionalized representation of a vagina and phallus. (See drawings 21-27.)

I. The use of hooks of characteristic form does much to give Marquesan art its distinctive quality. These hooks are of two types: One hook has a short vertical and a long horizontal arm meeting at right angles. The sides of the vertical arm are parallel; the lower side of the horizontal arm is straight and the upper irregularly convex. The end of the horizontal end is pointed. (See drawing 28.) The second hook contains either two or three sections which meet approximately at right angles, the sides being parallel throughout and the ends straight or rounded. (See drawing 29.) The pointed hooks are rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing. The other type of hook is constantly used in container design, ranking even before the spiral in frequency. It is used principally to fill segments of ovals or rectangles, and the arrangement is more or less stereotyped. In filling a half oval a series of three section hooks are placed with their bases resting upon the straight edge of the figure and their points at alternate ends. The innermost hooks are usually of two sections only. (See drawing 30.) In filling a quarter oval two sections are employed, the bases of alternate hooks resting against first one and then the other of the straight sides of the segment. (See drawing 31.) The hooks are always incised and the raised surface left between the cuts forms a continuous scroll which will be referred to as a hook scroll.

J. Crosses. Both plain (drawing 32) and staggered (drawing 33) crosses were employed, but always in connection with other designs which filled the spaces between their arms and the edges of the section.

K. Triangles rarely appear outside of the band decorations. They are used principally upon the bottoms of bowls and are filled either with angular spirals or with concentric triangles (drawing 34).

(4) MOTIFS

Motifs include the various standardiation combinations of design elements other than those which appear to be representations of natural objects. These are illustrated in Plate LXIII, *B* as follows:

1. Crosses, either plain or staggered, with arms continued into hook scrolls which fill the four quarters of the section.

2. *Kaake*, broad, straight-ended elbow figures with ends and bodies decorated with designs. (The *kaake* motif is common in tattooing, but rare in container decoration.)

3. *Mata.* The simplest form of the *mata* consists of two half ovals (convex side downward) each of which is filled with hooks or concentric half ovals, below which centrally there is some variant of the *pokaa*. The space on either side of the *pokaa*, below the half ovals, is usually filled with small designs not connected with these main elements. The whole arrangement apparently represents a highly conventionalized face in which the half ovals serve as eyes and the *pokaa* as nose. Some forms of double spiral seem to be related to the *mata* motif. *Mata* are rather rare in container decoration, but are common in tattooing.

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FLORAL DESIGNS

415 532 Representations of plant forms are quite rare, and true floral designs are represented by only three examples. In two of these, which appear upon the bottoms of two bowls so closely similar in other details that they are probably the work of the same artist, the center of the flower is represented by two concentric circles, around which the petals, represented by small ovals, are placed radially. The interior of some of the petals is decorated with herringbone design. (See fig. 9, *a*.) Upon a third specimen, groups of small pointed ovals, apparently representing bunches of leaves, are used to fill in the details of one of the larger designs. (See fig. 9, *b*.)

FIGURE 9.—Drawings of Marquesan floral designs.

415 531 From the specimens examined it seems that angular-geometric designs played a very minor part upon most containers, but they appear on a few specimens to the practical exclusion of curvilinear designs. Specimens showing anything like an equal frequency of occurrence of the two types of design appear to be entirely lacking. At the same time there is a strong tendency to give an angular form to designs which are basicly curvilinear. This tendency is most pronounced in the new specimens. The commonest of all design elements appear to have been the spiral and the hook scroll, segments of concentric ovals or rectangles ranking next in importance. Tiki figures, representations of animals or insects and combinations of crosses and hook scrolls are the most important motifs, as distinguished from design elements. *Mata* and *kaake* are rare, while *pokoa* and *cipuato* are not common.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN CONTAINER DESIGNS

415 531 171 Containers decorated with carved designs appear to have been unknown in western Polynesia and Hawaii. In other regions, except Easter Island and Chatham Islands, they were used to a greater or less extent, but reached their highest

[1] The relation of Marquesan designs as a whole to those of other parts of Polynesia have been discussed fully in a paper by Ruth Gruner (73). Only the most important points will be enumerated here.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

development in the Marquesas. A superficial study of the designs employed in the regions of their occurrence shows the following:

In southeastern Polynesia, to judge from the few examples available for study, we have a division of the surface to be decorated into a number of small sections or bands which are filled with small angular geometric motifs. These motifs are usually applied in bands, and are not as a rule combined to form larger designs. The only curvilinear form is the concentric circle.

In the Marquesas we have a division of the surface to be decorated into sections of relatively large size which are often separated by bands of simple design. These sections are treated as units, being filled with large designs formed by the combination of several design elements. Both curvilinear and angular-geometric designs are employed, but curvilinear designs are clearly dominant in container decoration. There is a tendency to give angularity to basicly curvilinear forms, such as the spiral, but there is an equally strong tendency to round the angles of basicly angular forms, such as the oblong.

In northern New Zealand the surface to be decorated is either treated as a whole, or divided into a very few large sections by bands of narrow design. Only curvilinear designs are employed, the dominant motif being the spiral. An important feature of the technique is the use of a beaded interline.

If we compare the southeastern Polynesian carvings with those on western Polynesian weapons, the most elaborately carved objects from that region, we are at once struck by a basic similarity in design and execution. There is the same division of the surface into many bands or sections which are filled with small angular-geometric motifs. The southeastern Polynesian examples show an additional motif, the concentric circle, and show superior workmanship, but the carvings from both regions resemble each other much more closely than they do those of either the Marquesans or Maoris.

The Marquesan and Maori carvings have little superficial resemblance, but they possess two features in common which are foreign to the regions just compared; a predominance of curvilinear designs, and an extensive use of the spiral. The toothed line, important in New Zealand, occurs in the Marquesas but is rare there. The practise of dividing the surface to be decorated into sections, constant in the Marquesas, is rare among the northern Maori, but angular-geometric designs seem to have been used in carving in some parts of New Zealand.

It appears that there existed originally in marginal Polynesia, exclusive of Hawaii, a predominantly curvilinear art which treated surfaces as a whole or in large sections. The original western Polynesian art was angular-geometric, with a division of the surfaces treated into many small sections. In the Cook Islands, Austral Islands and Society Islands, the original marginal art was almost de-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

4/15 531 171 stroyed by an invasion of western culture. The strong evidences of such an invasion have already been pointed out in the case of other elements of material culture. On the side of pure decoration the original art modified that of the invaders to a very small degree. Northern New Zealand, because of its location, was practically unaffected by the western Polynesian art. The Marquesas on the other hand, received a moderately strong influence resulting either in the introduction of sectional treatment of surfaces and angular-geometric designs or in the strengthening of these features if they were present in the original complex.

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285 [352] see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind of coarse mat, called *hupon*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *kena* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re-weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 531 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal [302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

285 In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all around, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering the body, and thus be more difficult to extract."

Desgraz (15, pp. 282-3) mentions a toothed javelin intended to break off in the wound, but the reference is obscure.

There are a few early mentions of lances of *toa* wood used in hand-to-hand fighting, but none of these are explicit enough to merit quotation. Fleurieu (23, p. 132) says that these lances were 9 to 11 feet long. Porter (49, p. 86), that they were 14 feet long. Some of these weapons are said to have been toothed, others plain. A curious form of lance, described by a native informant,

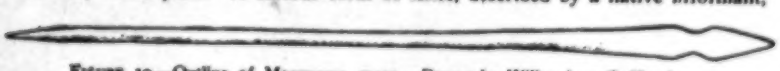

FIGURE 10.—Outline of Marquesan spear.—Drawn by Willowdean C. Handy.

had upon one side three long barbs, cut in one piece with the shaft, which were deeply notched at the base. When an antagonist had been stabbed, the foremost barb would be broken off by a quick twist and left in the wound while the spear, when withdrawn, would still serve for a second and third thrust.

Edge Partington (20, First series, Plate 43) figures two Marquesan spears of unusual form. In these weapons the shaft is made of "a hard red wood" and the heads of a "dark hard wood." The dark wood is almost certainly *toa*.

The shaft of the spear thickens toward the head. The point appears from the drawing to be inserted in a hole in the end of the shaft. There are no indications of lashings or other attachments. The points are rather slender in proportion to the shaft, and are carved with a series of low barbs. In one example the barbs alternate on opposite sides, in the other they are placed in pairs.

Spears with detachable heads, and many pointed spears appear to have been used primarily in fishing. (See p. 397.)

CLUBS

Two varieties of club were used in the Marquesas, one of which, the *uu* (Pl. LXIX, *D*) is a fairly common object in collections. The *uu*, which have frequently been figured and described, show great uniformity in shape and decoration and only minor differences in size and weight. An average specimen has a length of 4 feet, 6 inches with a head 18 inches long.

The handle of the club is round or oval in cross section, with a diameter of about 1¼ inches and a slight lateral flare at the butt. At its upper end the handle gradually flattens and expands laterally to form a peculiarly shaped head of two distinct parts. The lower part is oval in cross section, with sharp edges; at the outer end the head thickens abruptly, having a thickness of 3½ inches at the tip. Near the top of the sharp edged part there are two lateral knobs, each diamond shaped in cross section, with a flat end. The heads of clubs of this

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

411 type are elaborately carved according to a set convention, the decoration of the numerous
531 specimens examined varying only in minor details (Pl. LXIX, *A*).

Each side of the club is treated as a separate unit, but the arrangement and position of the various decorative elements on the two sides, and to a lesser degree the designs employed, correspond. The carvings upon a single side are arranged as follows:

At the lower end of the expanded portion, next the handle, there is a broad transverse band composed of decorative designs. Above this is placed a tiki face, minus the mouth, whose ears rest against either edge of the club. Above this face in turn, filling the space between it and the bottom of the knobs, is a narrow band of carving broken in the center. The inner ends of the sections are connected by narrow curved bands, or the space between them is filled with one or two small detached designs. Above this band, on the line of the lateral knobs, a small tiki face in high relief is carved centrally. The section above the lateral knobs is divided into two equal parts by a low longitudinal keel and upon each of the halves thus formed is carved a large circle or oval having in the center a head in high relief from which lines run radially to its circumference. Above these circles, on the extreme end of the club, a flat tiki face is carved centrally. The curve of the thick outer end of the club extends upon either side to within about two inches of the lateral knobs and in a few specimens small faces, directed laterally, are carved at its lower extremities.

Practically all old *uu* have a glossy black finish given by burying the finished implement for some time in the mud of a taro patch and then rubbing and polishing with scented coconut oil (*pani*).

411 The *uu* have always been much sought after by collectors and this demand has resulted in their continued manufacture although the best modern examples are only caricatures of the ancient specimens. The carefully worked out contours of the old clubs have given place to flat surfaces and angles, and the simple and rigidly conventionalized decoration to elaborate and meaningless carvings. The finish of the modern specimens is usually rough, and the wood is always left the natural color, making them easily distinguishable. (Pl. LXIX, *B*.)

The second type of Marquesan club, called *parahua* (Dordillon, 17) is also well represented in collections. It has a handle identical with that of the *uu* but the elaborately worked out head is replaced by a sharp edged blade closely similar in form to that of a modern American canoe paddle (Pl. LXIX, *E*). Weapons of this type appear never to have been carved or blackened, and are as a whole longer than the *uu*. Some of these paddle clubs are remarkable for their size and weight, one specimen in the Bishop Museum being 7 feet, 9¼ inches long with a blade length of 2 feet, 10½ inches and a maximum blade width of 7 inches.

In many *uu* and *parahu* there is a small hole pierced through the expanded lower end of the handle, probably for the attachment of a wrist loop, and in some specimens the grip is wrapped for a distance of 5 to 8 inches with fine plaited

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were
[531] decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight
[531] thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small
[531] sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

534 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin,
264 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at re-
[231] gular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

534 Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of kou wood, and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534 Triton trumpets were highly prized and were used in war and in religious ceremonies. Old specimens are still quite commonly to be found in *me'ae*. According to Handy the Triton trumpet was called *putona*, and the shell itself *vehine na te mano*, "wife of the shark." The maternal uncle of the first child born in a chiefly family announced the event by a blast on a trumpet of this kind.

FLUTES

The Marquesans used both mouth flutes and nose flutes.

The nose flute, called by the natives of Hiva Oa *puhekuheku*, is made from a single joint of bamboo ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter and 15 to 20 inches long. The upper end of the flute is closed by the septum of the joint, while the lower end is open. The blow hole is in the side of the instrument, immediately below the septum, and the stops in most flutes are placed in the lower half of the tube, in line with the blow hole. (See Pl. LXXIII, *G*.) In historic times the holes appear to have been made by burning with a hot iron. The usual number of stops is two, but some instruments have three and a flute found by Handy in Ua Pou (Pl. LXXIII, *F*) has four stops, two of which are placed a short distance below the blow hole; the other two in the usual position. The lower end of this flute is roughly cut, suggesting that it was originally longer.

[531] In ancient times nose flutes were sometimes decorated with burned designs made with a stone or bone point heated in the fire.

A peculiar nose flute in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXXIII, *E*) attributed to the Marquesas, is made from a joint of bamboo 22¾ inches long and 1⅝ inches in diameter and is closed at both ends.

Along one side of the flute are five holes, each about ¾ of an inch in diameter. The top hole is close to the septa of the joint while the others are placed at equal intervals. In line with the central hole two others are pierced at equal intervals in the circumference of the tube. The flute is decorated with burned designs of decidedly non-Marquesan character so that its Marquesan origin seems doubtful. It is probably Tongan.

Nose flutes are now obsolete in the Marquesas, and very few persons can play them properly.

In playing, the instrument is held with the edge of the closed end resting against the septum of the nose and the blow hole below and a little distance away from the right nostril. The body of the flute inclines downward and to the right and most of the knack in playing the instrument lies in holding it at the correct angle. The upper end is supported in the left hand, the left nostril being closed by the thumb. The stops are manipulated with the fingers of the right hand. In the Ua Pou specimen the two upper stops must have been played with the left hand. Several of the flutes seen had one of the stops plugged with a wad of coconut fiber, and it is said that a beginner would learn to play well upon one stop before attempting to use more.

The ordinary mouth flute (*puakahau*) (Pl. LXXIII, *D*) is still used throughout the Marquesas. One informant believed that it was not an aboriginal instrument, but if foreign it must have been introduced at an early date.

The mouth flute is made from a long joint of bamboo, rarely over three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The upper end is closed by the septum of the joint. The sound is produced

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287 paper pulp and in this condition it was very easily injured. This pulp was then wrapped in very large leaves (apparently from a species of Caladium) and taken into the house, where it was kept for two or three days. There was no fixed period for this storage, the time depending upon the condition of the pulp. After this "ripening" the pulp was beaten again with a square beater on a wooden anvil, rinsed in fresh water, and spread out to dry, the edges weighted with stones. The finished tapa was made up in large bundles which were hung from the ridge pole of the house until needed. (See Pl. LXXIV, *C*.)

A slightly different method of making tapa from breadfruit bark is described in a manuscript translated by Handy.

This account states that the bark was cut with a stone knife, peeled from the branches of a living tree with the teeth, beaten on a stone anvil for a long time, crushed and worked in fresh water, and done up in bundles to ripen. After ripening for four days, the pulp was beaten again on a stone anvil and finally on a wooden anvil.

An informant of Nuka Hiva said that in the final stages of manufacture layers of mulberry and breadfruit bark were frequently laid upon one another and beaten into a single piece, the upper side of which would be of one material, the other side of another. Used tapa was sometimes rebeaten.

287 Some of the tapa collected has evidently been oiled, although it is not cer-
386 tain that this was done with the intention of making it waterproof. The Bishop Museum possesses a tapa, ascribed to the Marquesas, one side of which is covered with a dark red glaze, but as there is no other evidence that this process was used in the Marquesas the specimen probably is improperly ascribed. Much white tapa was dyed yellow with a solution of saffron. Jardin (33) says he was told that the natives extracted a blue dye from the leaves of a species of Cordia, and adds: "I have never seen this practice and I have never seen their cloth dyed that color."

287 An interesting feature of Marquesan tapa is the use of the watermark
331 of the ordinary grooved beater to produce ornamental effects. One specimen has been beaten with such skill that at first glance it appears to be cloth woven with heavy weft and light warp threads. The ridges and grooves made by the beater extend across it in continuous lines except for a narrow strip along either edge, which is beaten at right angles to the body of the piece, giving the appearance of a border. Another specimen seems to have been beaten with alternate strokes from right and left so that the watermarks cross each other and produce a series of small diamonds. Designs were never painted on Marquesan tapa.

287 The importance of tapa making in the life of the Marquesans is indicated by the many terms in use. The following have been taken from Dordillon's Dictionary:

Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Art

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Carving	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	High development with application to houses, canoes, tools and utensils	Poor development, not used on houses, canoes or tools, a few utensils decorated with figures carved in round	Moderate development, applied to canoes and some utensils	Poor development, applied to canoes (ornate) and weapons	Poor development, weapons only
Inlay	Not used	Eyes of images only	Eyes of images and a few utensils	Rare or absent	Not used, carved designs on weapons filled with lime	Crude, weapons only
Painting	Practically absent	Applied to rafters, canoes and images	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only	Tapa only
Designs	Curvilinear or angular geometric; spiral predominant; use of conventional faces or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Curvilinear, angular geometric designs rare; spiral predominant, use of conventional faces or figures as decoration; floral and animal forms rare	Angular geometric designs with a few floral; spiral absent; human or animal forms not used	Angular geometric or circles, no spirals; human and animal figures in tattoo; floral designs on tapa	Angular geometric or floral; spiral rare or lacking; human and animal figures (outline) on weapons	Angular geometric or floral; no spirals; figures rare or lacking
Treatment	Surface divided into zones or sections which are treated separately, occasional superposition of designs	Surface divided into a few large sections or treated as a whole, superposition of designs common	Designs applied to stripes or over whole surface (tapa only), no design superposition	Carved surfaces divided into sections treated separately; tapa surface treated as whole; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately; no design superposition	All surfaces divided into sections treated separately, no design superposition
Human figures	Conventionalized only	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized and naturalistic	Conventionalized, very crude	Not used (one doubtful example)	Rare, no data on form

Conventions of Human Figures

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Leg	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	Half flexed	.....	.....
Arms	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	At sides, hands on hips. Hand to mouth position not used	At sides, hands on abdomen or one hand to mouth	.....	.....
Hands	Five fingers of equal length, outer fingers connected by groove behind three inner	Three fingers of equal length	Five fingers when indicated	Five fingers or not indicated	.....	.....
Body	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles	Simple treatment, rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles or simple treatment with rounded contours	Formed by a series of planes meeting at well defined angles and treatment of simple treatment with rounded contours	.....	.....
Mouth	Exaggerated, oval, protruded tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form, protruding tongue	Exaggerated, beaked or figure eight form or realistic naturalistic figures); protruding tongue, common in semi-naturalistic figures	Exaggerated, oval, protruded tongue, or naturalistic mouth	.....	.....
Nose	Flat, nostril exaggerated	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in many cases	Nostril exaggerated, bridge of nose not shown in some cases	Higher than Marquesan convention and more naturalistic, nostril exaggerated	.....	.....

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HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, SMOKE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

End plate 27

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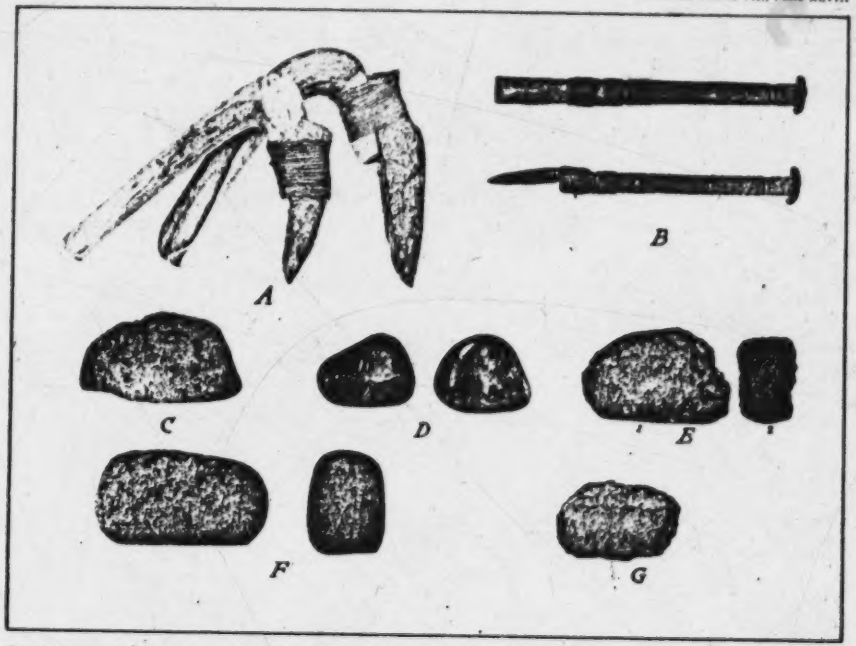

STONE IMPLEMENTS: *A*, HAFTED ADZES; *B*, HAFTED CHISEL, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, RUBBING STONE OF CORAL; *D*, SCRUBBERS USED TO POLISH WOOD; *E*, SCRAPERS; *F*, HAMMER STONES; *G*, KNIFE.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[end plate 9]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 CX6 Marquesas CX6

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COCONUT SHELL AND GOURD CONTAINERS: *A*, COCONUT BOWLS — (1) WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, (2) WITH HANDLE MADE FROM SHELL, (3) WITH DECORATED CORD HANDLE; *B*, COCONUT BOTTLE FOR OIL; *C*, COCONUT BOTTLE FOR WATER; *D*, CARVED COCONUT CUPS; *E*, GOURD CONTAINERS (HUE); *F*, STOPPERS FOR GOURD CONTAINERS.

[end plate 19]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 CIX6 Marquesas CIX6

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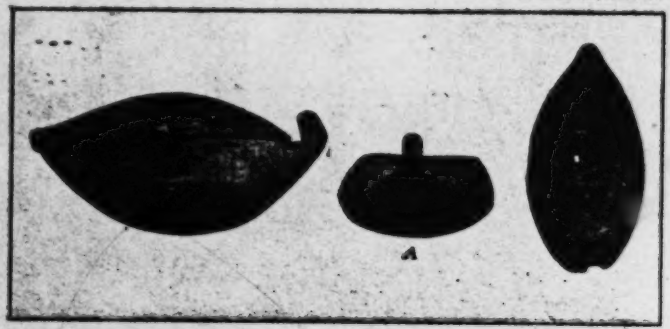

WOODEN CONTAINERS: *A*, LARGE BOX, VIEWS OF SIDE, END AND INSIDE OF LID; *B*, CARVED BOX, UNUSUAL FORM; *C*, SMALL BOX; *D*, BOWL WITH LOOP FOR SUSPENSION, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *E*, BOWL WITH HANDLE, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS; *F*, CARVED BOWLS, BOTTOM VIEWS.

[end plate 29]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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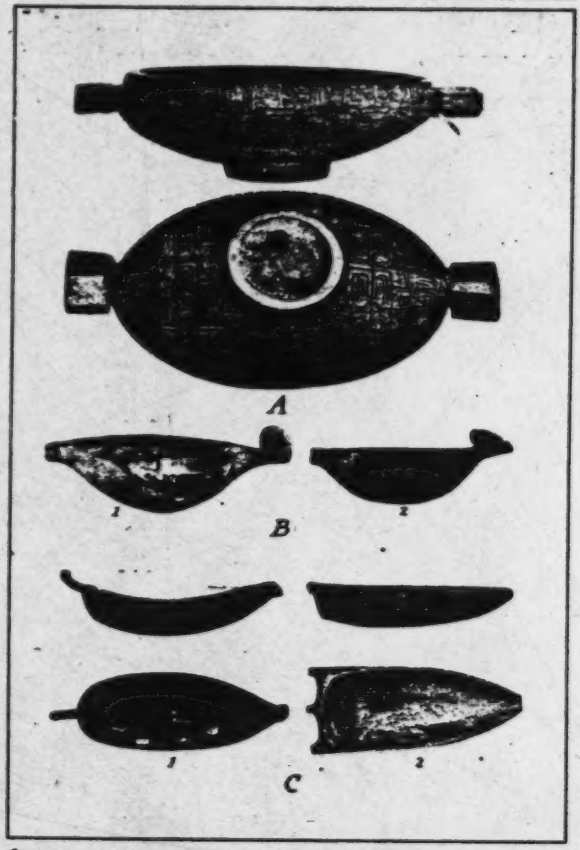

WOODEN DISHES AND BOWLS: *A*, OVAL DISH WITH BASE, SIDE AND BOTTOM VIEWS; *B*, SMALL BOWLS; *C*, KAVA BOWLS OF UNUSUAL FORM, SIDE AND TOP VIEWS.

[end plate 22]

Bishop P. Museum

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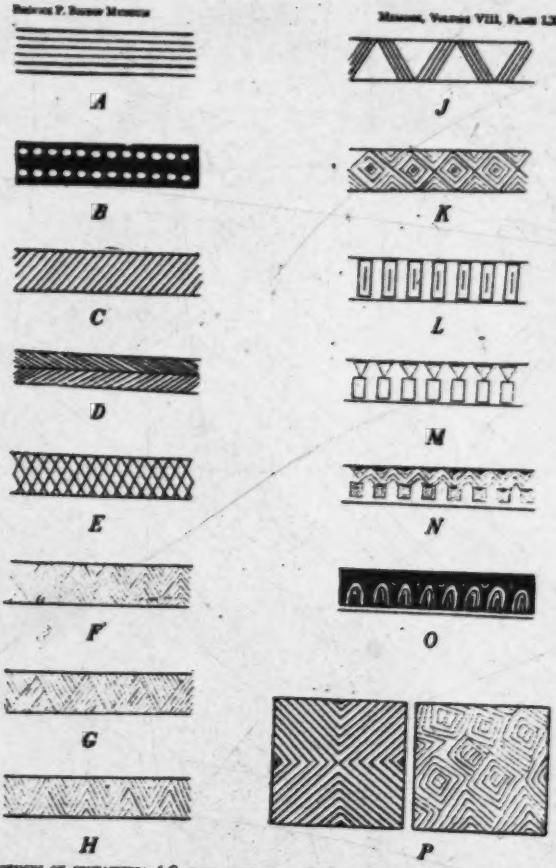
Museum, Volume VIII, Plate LXII



DESIGNS ON CONTAINERS: A-O, HAND DECORATIONS; P, Q, DESIGNS USED TO FILL SECTIONS.

[end plate 23]

DESIGN ELEMENTS AND ART MOTIFS: *A*, 1-34, DESIGN ELEMENTS; *B*, 1-3, ART MOTIFS.

[End plate 24]

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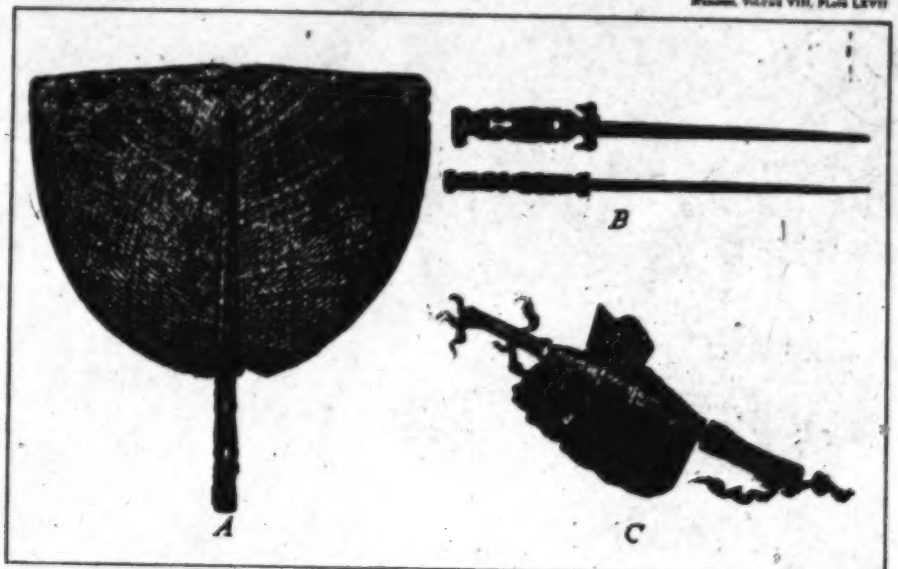
MATS AND BASKETS: *A*, SMALL MAT OF TI LEAVES; *B*, PLAIN PANDANUS MAT; *C*, PANDANUS MAT EMBROIDERED IN RED; *D*, BASKET, ROUND TYPE; *E*, BASKET, HAKUPU TYPE; *F*, FAN OF BASKET WEAVE—TYPE IN USE IN 1920.

End plate 27



CEREMONIAL FANS: *A*, CHIEF'S FAN (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, HANDLE OF CHIEF'S FAN, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *C*, TORTOISE SHELL FAN USED BY EMBALMERS.

[End plate 25]

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St. Louis E-3 (1920-1921) 1923 OXS Marquesas OXS

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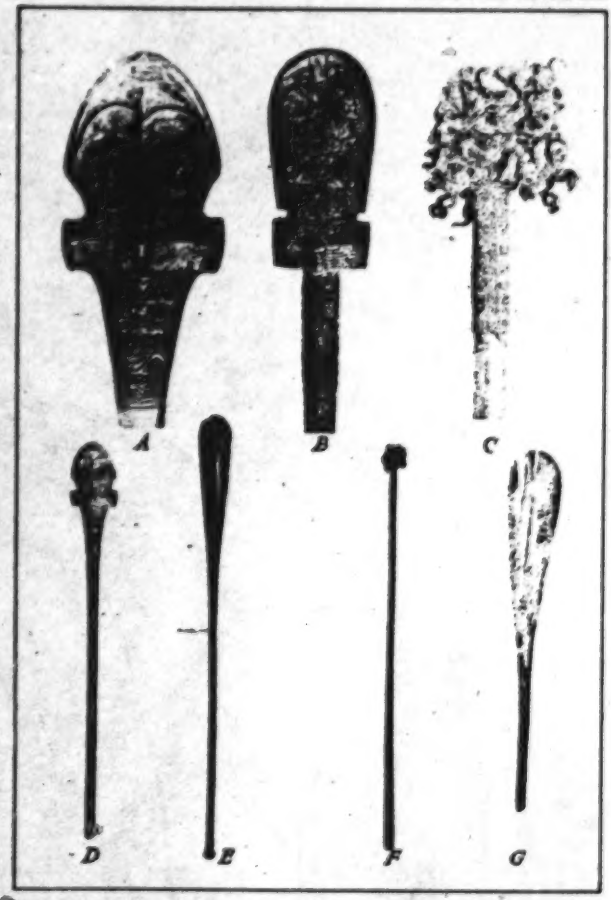

CLUBS AND STAFFS: *A*, HEAD OF CLUB UC; *B*, HEAD OF WOMEN UC; *C*, TOP OF CHIEF'S STAFF; *D*, UC, FRONT VIEW; *E*, PARAHU, FRONT VIEW; *F*, CHIEF'S STAFF; *G*, SCEPTER OF CHIEF'S SON (ROCVAS).

[end plate 30]

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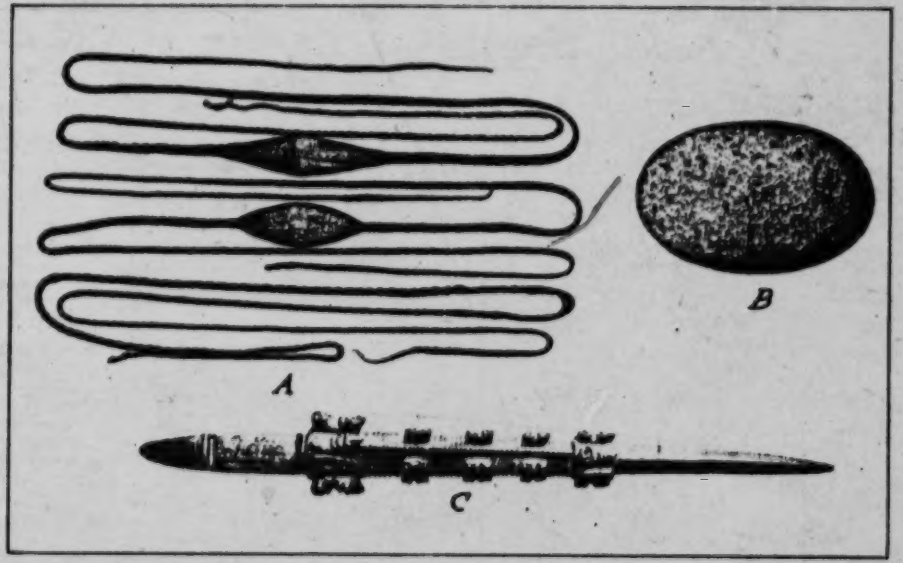

SLINGS AND HARPOON: *A*, SLING, OUTSIDE AND INSIDE VIEWS (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, SLING STONE; *C*, HEAD OF HARPOON (UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM).

[End plate 31]

?: Lemon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OSS Marquesas OSS

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, WHISTLE; *B*, WHISTLE FLUTE; *C*, TUNABLE MOUTH FLUTE; *D*, MOUTH FLUTE (PUAKAHAU) ORDINARY FORM; *E*, DECORATED NOSE FLUTE; *F*, NOSE FLUTE, UNUSUAL FORM (LOCATION DOUBTFUL); *G*, NOSE FLUTES, ORDINARY FORM.

[End plate 34]

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7: Lisbon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304 represent about as full a collection as could be obtained today of the [177] tattoo designs of the Marquesas. What may be learned of the history and meaning of the art from the study of these designs may be of interest.

The parts of the body ornamented differ today, as they have always, for men and women, a complete suit of tattooing for the men (Pl. 1) covering the crown of the head (Pl. v, 9), face (Pls. III, IV, V) including the eyelids, often the inside of the nostrils, tongue, palms and back of the hand (Pls. VIII, *A;* XI, *C),* arms (Pls. XII-XIII), legs (Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII), and the entire trunk (Pl. XIV) but not the penis, which all save one of our modern informants deny ever to have been tattooed. (See also: 15, p. 16; 4, p. 14; 5, p. 232; 14, pp. 78, 114; 11, p. 111; 10, pp. 122-123; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 13, pp. 83-84, 90-91; 18, p. 222.) At the present day, the one man who might be said to be fully tattooed or *moho,* is lacking the crown piece, save for a section, and the tongue and palm coverings. From the earliest times accounts such as those of Cook, Marchand, Langsdorff, Krusenstern, Melville, Berchon and Porter note the simpler decoration of the women, G. Forster observing none on them. On the bodies of women observed today, patterns are found on the lips running back to the base of the gums (Pls. II, *A;* VI, *A),* on the ear lobes, behind the ears (Pl. VI, *C;* Porter, p. 114), on the curve of the shoulder (Pl. VI, *B;* see also 13, p. 95; 6, p. 132), on the lower back of which but one example remains, as far as known (Pl. XV), on the hands (Pls. VII-XI) and on the legs from the buttocks down (Pls. XVI-XXVIII). One old woman of Nuku Hiva describes the tattooing on women as covering also, formerly, the whole length of the arms on the inside, the buttocks, and the abdomen. She, as well as all others living today, declares that the vulva was never tattooed, although one woman reports a girdle that came around in front.

Various reasons are given for covering different parts of the body. The decorated hand was noticeable in kneading and eating *popoi.* The under-arm pattern made a fine showing when the arms were uplifted to strike with the war club. Shoulder and chest decorations were displayed when men walked with arms crossed behind the back. Circular motives on the inside of the knees were in evidence when men sat cross-legged. The inside thighs where the loin cloth hung and covered them were often left vacant.

X304 There are numerous indications both in the types of design to be seen 531 today and in descriptions and stories of natives and of visitors to the islands, that fashion in this mode of decoration was no exception to the rule of fashion's fickleness. There are to be seen naturalistic, geometric, and conventional motives, both symmetrically and irregularly arranged; there are stories of inter-island exchange of motives and of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the teaching of the *tuhuna* of the northwestern group by those of the southeastern; there are to be found in literary sources accounts of the vogue of different artists and statements from which may be deduced complete changes in the type of design. With a view to discovering how dependent style was upon the taste and originality of individual artists, the names of all artists who executed the designs recorded were noted. When two pieces of work done by the same *tuhuna* were found, the choice of pattern seemed sometimes to be identical (Pl. XI, *C*), sometimes altogether different (Pls, IX, *B* and X, *A*), while the work of different *tuhuna* was sometimes identical (Pl. XIII, *B*). It would seem that all *tuhuna* drew, more or less at their will, from a single body of design.

In the hope of making as clear as possible the probable evolution of this art in the Marquesas towards the elaborate conventional design that prevailed when it was forbidden thirty-eight years ago, the following details are set down.

Quiros records in his description of Mendaña's visit to the southeastern islands in 1595, the observation of "fish and other patterns painted" upon the faces and bodies of the natives. This is corroborated by a living informant who says that formerly women had birds and fish behind their ears and on their legs, and men are reported to have had lizards on their faces. The next word from a voyager that comes to us of this group is dated nearly two centuries later when Forster observes in 1772 that the motives in Tahu Ata are not naturalistic but geometric, taking the form of "blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines;" while J. R. Forster confirms this analysis, adding however, "circles," and Marchand in 1790 reiterates the two lists and swells them with "parts of circles . . . . square or oval figures . . . . inclined and variously crossed lines." It would appear, then, that in the southeastern islands during these hundred and eighty-odd years, there had been in the type of design a change from the naturalistic to the geometric.

We have no similar statements regarding what was happening in the northwestern group during the early period, the first observations there being set down by Marchand in 1790, who visited both groups. Though Marchand touched for a short time at only two bays in the northwestern islands, still it is valuable to have his statement that he finds in Ua Pou the same custom of tattooing as in Tahu Ata but not so general, few tattooed individuals being seen (11, p. 167). Unfortunately he does not define the types of motives there as he does in Tahu Ata. Just a few years later, however, in 1803, Langsdorff gives a number of drawings from the northwestern group with explanations of them (10: Pl. VI, p. 117; Pl. VII, p. 119; Pl. VIII, p. 122; pp. XIV, XV, XVI). which show that

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304 by the beginning of the nineteenth century, designs in Nuku Hiva were a
531 combination of purely geometric figures with all save two of the principal
184 conventional units of the latest phase of the art that at the present day is universally attributed by the natives to the southeastern islands, which for convenience may be referred to as the Hiva Oa development. Dordillon (3) gives the names of many motives which have completely disappeared today, most of them recorded in the northwestern group. Of these, several would indicate naturalistic treatment: *a'akiva*, line of sea builders; *aukohuhu*, a seaweed; *haha'ua*, a kind of ray fish; *homae*, a fish; *koao*, a fish; *matuku*, a bird; *keeheu*, wing; *tikau'e*, fly; *toetoe*, crab. Furthermore, in 1843 Melville saw fish and birds and an *artu*(?) tree tattooed on natives of Nuku Hiva (13, p. 157); Desgraz, the same year, describes fish and shells (18, p. 223); Garcia in 1845, fish; Berchon, in 1859, boots, gloves, suns, sharks, cockroaches, coconuts, lizards. In addition to these naturalistic motives, all these visitors also saw geometric patterns, showing that in the northwestern group as long as we have any record of tattooing there, the two types have existed side by side as they do today. (For naturalistic motives see Pls. XVIII; XX, *B, c;* XI, *D;* XXX, *j;* for geometric, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, *A, b;* XXI, *D, a).*

On the other hand the earliest drawings obtainable that are known to be of the Hiva Oa type are those drawn by Proiho and an old *tuhuna patu tiki* of Fatu Hiva (Pls. IX, *A;* XII, *C;* XIV, *B;* XVI; XXX). These are impossible to place chronologically and are no longer found upon the body in exactly these forms. Among them is found but one genuinely naturalistic motive (Pl. XXX, *j)* but a combination of geometric figures such as squares (Pl. XII, *C, b* and *c*), bars (Pl. XXX, *C*), oblique (Pl. XXX, *d)* and variously crossed lines (Pl. XVI, *d;* XXX, *a;* XXX, *k),* with simple forms of all the modern conventional motives save the *matakomoe* of Langsdorff, now called *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*) and the flower-like or sunlike disk variously called *puahitu, puahue* and *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*), both of which are to be found in primitive form in the early Nuku Hiva art (Pl. XXIX, *f, c).* Today three naturalistic designs, and these very crude, are to be found in the southeastern group, and these are all the work of the same artist. (Pls. X, *A,* 2, *a;* XXVIII, *D, E).* The designs described as belonging to former Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva styles have in common several units, many of them in primitive form which are to be found today in the Hiva Oa style: for example, the *koheta* (Pls. XXX, *a;* XXIX, *a* and *b;* XXXIV, *a* and *b);* the *ka'ake* (Pls. XXX, *i;* XXIX, *h;* XXXIV, *g* insets); the *hikuhiku atu* (Pls. XXIX, *b;* XXX, *g;* XXXIII, *h);* and the *mata hoata* (Pls. XXX, *e,* lower *a;* XXIX, *g;* I, *D,* thigh); and what I

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

conceive to be the forerunner of the underarm *ipuoto*, the original *po'ĭi* or shellfish motive (Pl. IX, *A, a;* XII, *A, B, D*).

An examination of the extant examples of the art shows a distinct cleavage between the two groups in their conception of design, that of the southeastern being purely conventional with but minor relics of the geometric and the slightest trace of the naturalistic; that of the northwestern showing several examples of naturalistic art, many of the geometric, and a simpler form of the conventional than the other. Marquesans are all agreed, that, as far as tattooing customs went, the islands were divided into two groups: Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou forming one; Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva and Ua Huka—because of its close intercourse with the north and west coast of Hiva Oa—forming the other. It may be remarked that Fatu Hiva is accepted as the home of carving and modern tattooing; but, being regarded as a kind of suburb of Hiva Oa, the latter island is referred to as the center. Several trustworthy informants declare that before the whites came, *tuhuna patu tiki* went from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva to teach them the art there, as before this time the Nuku Hivans used only "dirty black patches." We know that, by Melville's time, a transfer from the one to the other group was taking place, for he says that when he was in Nuku Hiva in 1843 (12, p. 48), Hiva Oa enjoyed a reputation for tattooing in the whole group. At the time of its discontinuance as a practice, it was certainly Hiva Oa tattooing that prevailed over the whole group.

Face patterns seem to have followed the same general lines of development, with a period at least of divergent styles in the two groups. Some Hiva Oa natives say that lizard motives were anciently used on the face; but early voyagers indicate only geometric figures, Marchand—the first to attempt to define them—speaking vaguely of various lines on the forehead representing kinds of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing (16, Vol. II, Pl. 133; 10, Pl. VI, p. 117). Langsdorff pictures a man with a spiral on his cheek (10, Pl. VI, p. 117) and this convention is confirmed by living informants who describe these *kokoata* (Pl. V, 7) on the faces of warriors and chiefs. Today, naturalistic motives are not to be seen upon the face, but what may be a descendant of the spiral occurs on Ua Pou in a fine design on the nostril (Pl. IV, 7, 10; *V*, 4). The prevalent style called *ti'ati'apu*, to encircle several times, consists of three solid stripes, sometimes seen as unfinished half-stripes, banding the face horizontally, one across the forehead, one across the eyes and the third across the mouth. (See Pls. III-V.) This is everywhere declared to be a Hiva Oa style and there is a variant where the mouth band covers the nostrils,

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said to belong to Fatu Hiva. Of this but one living example could be found (Pl. v, 8). Of the old Nuku Hiva *paheke*, distinguished by an oblique band running from the right center of the forehead across the left eye and cheek (Pl. v, 5), there remain today but two examples. What form the transition from spiral to band may have taken can only be conjectured. A reliable Hiva Oa informant describes a former convention of that island which seems to be a combination of over-eye arcs—perhaps a relic of the spiral—, of *peheke* and *ti'ati'apu* (Pl. v, 6; see also Langsdorff's description and Pl. VIII, figs. 10, 11, p. XI). In Melville's time, both the modern styles were seen on Nuku Hiva, and in the tattooing to be seen today, the Hiva Oa has replaced the Nuku Hiva design completely. In the fine inset and inter-band motives are to be found both geometric and conventional motives, never naturalistic.

How may this divergence between groups and the growth from the naturalistic through the geometric to the conventional—as seems to be the probable development—be accounted for?

Perhaps it may be postulated that before the seventeenth century naturalistic motives were used in both groups, that during the two unrecorded centuries geometric figures appeared in the southeastern group, that these gradually replaced the naturalistic there or transformed them into the conventional, and that at each stage of development the new styles were carried to the northwest where they did not so completely obliterate or amalgamate the native patterns, some of which persist to this day in their old form.

Influences which may have contributed to such a development are suggested by an examination of adzing and carving motives. Ornamental adzing in simple geometric patterns seems to have been the primitive form of wood decoration. Imitation of its technique as well as the use of its motives on the body is evident. The former is seen in the filling of spaces, ordinarily made solid in color, with parallel, oblique, zigzag or wavy lines (Pl. III, 7, inset in eye band; XXI, *B, b;* XXXVI, insets in *e* and *g;* XXXV, inset barred teeth in *f;* XXX, *d);* in the use of the intersection of adzing lines to form the motive called *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d;* possibly also the inset in the forehead band in Pl. III, 8). In tattooing are found such housepost motives as the cross formed by adzing off the corners of a square (Pl. XII, *C, b*), concentric circles (Pl. XII-*E, b*) and concentric half-ovals (Pl. XXVIII, *E;* XVIII, *a).* It is possible that the use of four triangles in a square or oblong, as well as the conception of design in bands may have come from this art of adzing wood. When it is remembered that wood was scorched before a pattern was adzed or carved upon it, so that the design was in natural wood color, the back-

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ground in black, the conclusion suggests itself that such motives as the *pahito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *j* and *k*, left and right) and the flamelike ends of triangles (XVIII, XIX *A*) may be copies of the black background left by gouging alongside a line in the one case and by cutting short lines vertically out from a straight line in the other. It seems as if the checkerboard pattern, of which but one example is extant, must have originally been carved on wood (Pl. XXI, *D, a*). Parallel and wavy lines and other adzing and carving concepts are used on the body, as seen in the preceding example. It will be noticed that most of these coincidences are found in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou or early Fatu Hiva types, rather than in the prevalent modern patterns, though among these are two examples of the scroll so prominent in carving (see also Pls. XXXVIII, *D;* XXXV, *c*).

Wood carving, as distinguished from adzing, which decorated bowls, paddles, clubs, etc., seems to be a mixture of adzing patterns, geometric squarish spirals and a few of the conventional motives usual in tattooing. Of carving technique copies such as the veining along a midrib (Pl. XXVIII *E*) are found in tattooing; of carving design, similarities to old war club patterns (Pl. VI, *B;* X, *A*, 2, *a;* the *tava*, which was formerly burned on a plank in the house of the inspirational priest (Pl. XVI, *m*); and such small units as the *tiki* in forehead and mouth bands of Plate III, 7. Common to both carving and tattooing are such conventional motives as the *honu kea* or woodlouse, the *mata hoata* or brilliant eye, the *ka'ake* or underarm curve, the *poka'a* or wooden block for carrying a load on the shoulder, the *enata* or man. Whether these motives originated as wood carving patterns or as body decoration and in which direction the transfer and adaption was made it is impossible to say definitely.

Several interesting possibilities are suggested by an analysis of the various motives called *kea* today. It would appear that the *kea* of common occurrence on wood is really a conventionalization of the *honu kea* or woodlouse with its six legs and two antennae. This was seen but once in tattooing, on the wrist of an old woman of Fatu Hiva (Pl. VII, *A*, 1, *a*) and was drawn by an artist of Fatu Hiva as a former unit there (Pl. XVI, *K*). On the other hand, the usual body *kea* (Pl. XXII, *B*, *b* center) may very well be a simple conventionalization of one of the carved tortoise-shell plaques of the *paekea* or crown—a carved product of Hiva Oa—the motive having been borrowed from shell rather than from wood carving. There is a motive found today in tattooing on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *A*, *e;* XXI, *D*, *b*) and depicted also as an early Fatu Hiva unit (Pl. IX, *A*, *b*) which resembles the *e honu*, tortoise, drawn by Langsdorff, and this, which has disappeared from Hiva Oa tattooing, may perhaps be said

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to be the only conventional derivative of a naturalistic portrayal of the tortoise and probably the only pure body motive among the variants called *kea*. The southeastern carving motive is the *kea* which prevails today.

Another usual conventional motive appearing both in carving and tattooing, the *mata hoata*, or brilliant eye (Pl. XXVI, *A. e)*, would appear to have originated in neither, being, in its simplest form, a copy of the eyes, ears and nostrils of a *tiki* or image face. Only on wood is this simple copy found today, and on wood we find all the transition stages of its development to the highly conventionalized unit common in tattooing today; whence it would appear that the *mata hoata* originated in sculpture, was copied upon wood, and transferred to the body, where it gradually was elaborated and more highly conventionalized. (For development see Pl. XXX, *b*, which is found only on wood today; XI, *A*, *c*; XVIII, *b*; XXXIV, *b*; XXXIII, *c*; XXIII, *B*, *f*, *a*; XXIII, *A*, *a*, center.)

Of conventional motives the *ka'ake* is perhaps the most widely used. Dordillon gives *kakekake* as one of the words used to designate tattooing which is entirely finished. He spells the word *"kake,"* but it seems better to adopt the spelling *"ka'ake"* for the following reasons: The distinguishing feature of the motive is its never varying curve which seems to correspond to the line of the under-arm curve or arm-pit for which the native term is *ka'ake*. The assumption that this curve of the body originally gave the name to the motive is borne out by several lines of reasoning. In the first place, Langsdorff assigns the placing of this motive originally to the inside arm and ribs (10, p. XV); in the second place, we have described for us this simple under-arm curve as its earliest form (Pl. XXIX, *h*; XXX, *i)*; and in the third place, the elaborations of this curve, as the motive grew in complexity, are representations of the *enata* or man with upraised arms (Pl. VI, *B*, center bottom), and of the *poka'a* (Pl. IX, *B* at base of fingers) or curved wooden object placed on the shoulders on which to rest a pole in carrying a heavy load. The association of ideas seems obvious and we find them associated today as minor decorations in the under-arm pattern (Pl. XIII, *B*, *a*, *b*; XIII, *C*, *c* and *d*; XIV, *A*). This combination is especially marked in the simpler forms of the *ka'ake* as found on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *B*, *b)* and Nuka Hiva (Pl. XV, *a)*. Although this unit appears upon wood, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was originally a body pattern.

There are certain body motives which seem never or rarely to have been used upon wood, such as the *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*) and the *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*; XXVI, *A*, *d*, center), which are associated with early Nuku Hiva, not Hiva Oa, art; and there are some which are just beginning to be transferred to wood at the present time, as the *ipu'oto*, another unit

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found in early Nuku Hiva design (Pl. XIII); but it seems impossible definitely to assign particular conventional motives to the one medium or the other. However, it may perhaps be stated that geometric elements did originate on wood, and that the influence of geometric adzing and carving appears in tattooing both in certain transferred elements and in a general conventionalization of the primitive naturalistic motives. Inasmuch as Fatu Hiva is known to be the carving center, we may further define the geometric influence as springing directly from wood-carvers of the southeastern group.

The use of solid patches may be traced with interest, as here again we find a different treatment in the two groups. Some modern informants describe the men of Nuku Hiva as formerly having half of the body entirely black (Pl. XII, B); one remembers seeing a man with solid-black legs; several testify that when a man was completely tattooed in design, if he could bear it, the spaces were gone over and filled in until all pattern was obliterated and he was completely black. In corroborating this custom in Nuku Hiva, Langsdorff says that he saw some old men who were punctured over and over to such a degree that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. (See also 14, p. 78; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 1, p. 106.) There are no accounts of such a practice in the southeastern islands, and this seems to point to an aesthetic sense there, which was lacking in the northwest, for certainly people with sufficient artistic sense to originate these beautiful patterns would not have covered them afterwards and considered the results the "height of perfection in ornament," as did the *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva, according to Langsdorff and the other early voyagers.

Desgraz, who was in Nuku Hiva at approximately the same time as Melville, when Hiva Oa tattooing was the vogue, describes the use there of black bands containing delicate figures. These are today the fundamentally distinguishing feature of the Hiva Oa type of body design as well as of the face pattern. On the other hand, both from descriptions of natives today and from examination of the tattooing of the only old man and old woman to be found, whose patterns were put on by Nuku Hiva *tuhuna*, the basic principle of the Nuku Hiva type seems to have been solid patches. Leg patterns for women found today fall into three distinct types: that of Nuku Hiva (Pls. XVII-XIX) Ua Pou (Pls. XX-XXI), and Hiva Oa (Pls. XXII-XXVIII). The first is distinguished by triangular patches of different sizes fitted together with half inch spaces between them, the only regularity of arrangement being their placing so as to form a straight line down the center front of the leg. Flamelike edges, inset teeth, and

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geometric linings, with here and there a naturalistic unit, break up the heavy patches and add to their irregular and fancy appearance. Examination of the leg motives of this very *tapu* Nuku Hiva chiefess, who must have employed the best artist obtainable, provokes the suggestion that these insets were crude and inartistic attempts at a style from the southeast which had perhaps just been introduced into Nuku Hiva and with which the Nuku Hiva *tuhuna* was not acquainted or perhaps to which he was not equal. The second type, that of Ua Pou, is put on below the knee only, in horizontal bands of delicately lined patterns, the motives on either side of the center, front and back, being exactly alike. The whole may be conceived of in front and back longitudinal sections of symmetrical halves, which meet in the middle of either side of the leg. Naturalistic, geometric and conventional treatments are all present. The third type, that of Hiva Oa, which was the prevalent style at the time of the discontinuance of the art, is similar in arrangement to that of Ua Pou, extending however high up onto the thigh, and presents a mean between the two former in heaviness of treatment, the fine lines swelling into black curves. The mode is almost purely conventional. The two latter may be characterized as curvilinear; the former, as angular in design.

The leg patterns to be seen on living men fall into two types, a single example representing that of Nuku Hiva (Pl. XXXI), all the rest being of the Hiva Oa type (Pls. XXXII-XXXVIII). The former is characterized by unadorned heavy patches, triangular and oblong in shape, fitted together obliquely with no plan of arrangement save the formation of a straight intersection down the front of the leg. Teeth are the only insets. The Hiva Oa examples show the style to be of horizontal bands extending around three quarters of the leg, the inside front quarter being filled with triangles in the Nuku Hiva style (Pl. XXXIV, *e-j*), indicating, perhaps, a borrowing from the heavy black patches of that group. The thigh band and the underknee band are always composed either of four triangles or of triangles and parallelograms with insets of teeth; but beyond this, this style is totally different from the Nuku Hiva example, variations of the same fine line motives used in Hiva Oa for women being set into *pahito* so that the heavy bands become merely a framework for them. The Nuku Hiva pattern drawn from life stands quite apart from that pictured by early navigators (10, pp. 117, 119; 16, Pl. 132) and described by a modern informant on Fatu Hiva (See Pl. XXIX). It is a pity that no other living example of the work of a Nuku Hiva artist could be found, as it is unsafe to make any general statement about it.

At the present time, there is but one type of back decoration for men (Pl. XIV, *C*): eight heavy rectangular patches arranged in pairs along the

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back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, *"i te tiki"* means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. xxxiv, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. xxxv, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. xxxv, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. xxiii, *A*, *d*, left and right) zigzag: or in terms of

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the parts they play in the pattern as a whole, such as the *ka'ava* (Pl. x, *B*, 1, *g*); beam supporting the timbers of a house, which performs just this function in the hand pattern; or the *iti'iti'i* (Pl. xxvi, *B*, *h*) which encircles the leg, binding together the side motives.

Many of the design names[4] then, are names given by artists in terms of their particular medium; but motives are also named for objects in nature or in the material culture, of which they were probably originally naturalistic copies. Prominent among these are the *enata* (Pl. xxiii, *B*, *k*) or man; the *nihoniho peata* (Pl. iii, 6, *c*) or shark's teeth; the *hikuhiku atu* (Pl. xxxiv, *k*) or bonito tails; the *pakiei* (Pl. xx, *B*, *f*) or crab; the *fa'amana* (Pl. xvi, *h*) or pandanus branches; the *makamaka* (Pl. xx, *A*, *c*), branches; the *kaka'a* (Pl. xx, *B*, *c*), lizard; the *poka'a* (Pl. ix, *B* at base of fingers) or shoulder rest for a carrying pole, which is sometimes represented with the carrying pole in the socket as in the finger motives of Pl. ix, *C*, 1.

A third department of names seems to relate to legends and beliefs; such being the *vai o Kena* (Pl. xxvi, *A*, *g*, center) water of Kena; the *vai ta keetu* (Pl. xvi, *c*), sacred bathing place of chiefs; the *vai me'ama* (Pl. xx, *A*, *d*), water moon; the Pohu (Pl. xxii, *B*, *g*, center), a legendary hero; the *peke'oumei* and the *fanaua* (Pl. xv, *c*), or evil spirits.

Whether these and the naturalistic motives had magical significance is not known today, though there is reason to believe that the *fanaua* were put upon the back of this one woman to protect her from these evil spirits. The only positive statement regarding the significance of tattooing design in the Marquesas that can be made upon the basis of the data available today is that it was considered purely decorative at the time of the cessation of the practice of the art. And it is as pure design that it should be studied and appreciated.

[4] In the explanation of the plates the names of the motives are those given by the persons on whose bodies they are found. It is impossible to secure accurate translations of the majority of design names from natives today, since these have become simply names to them. The names given here are only those which a knowledge of the language and information from natives and from Dordillon seem to make reliable.

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TRANSLATIONS OF DESIGN NAMES

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aa fanaua	row of evil spirits (of a certain kind)
akaaka fa'a	pandanus roots
enata	man
fa'a mana	pandanus branches
fanaua	a kind of evil spirit
fatina	jointure
hei ta'avaha	a diadem of cock's plumes
hei po'i'i	shellfish (of a certain circular kind) wreath
hikuhiku atu	tails of the bonito fish
honu	tortoise
hue ao	calabash bottom
hue epo	dirty calabash
hue tai	compass
ihu epo	dirty nose
ikeike	a kind of shrub
ipu ani	sky bowl
ipu ao	bowl bottom
ipu oto	inside the bowl
iti'iti'i	binding
ka'ake	armpit
ka'ava	ridge pole
kaka'a	lizard
kea	woodlouse, or tortoise or a carved plaque of tortoise shell
kikipu	lips
kikomata	eyes
kikutu	lips
kohe ta	sword
kohe tua	back knife
kopiko	zigzag
koua'ehi	coconut leaves
makamaka	branches
mata	eyes
mata hoata	brilliant eye
niho or nihoniho	teeth
niboniho peata	shark's teeth
nutu kaha	mouth or muzzle
omuo puaina	a kind of carved bone earring
pahito	ancient patch
paka	splinter
paka oto	inside places
pakiei	crab
pana'o	cut in small slices, traced
papua	enclosure or garden
papua au ti	enclosure of ti leaves
papua enata	native enclosure
peata	shark
peka tua	back cross
peke ou mei	a kind of evil spirit
pia'o tiu	to fold or make into bundles
Pohu	a legendary character
po'i'i	a kind of coiled shell fish
poka'a	a shaped wooden shoulder rest for a carrying pole
pu	conch shell
puaina, puainga	ear
pua hitu	flower of olden times
pua hue	flower calabash
puha puaka	pig's thigh
puto'o	buttocks
tamau	ring
tapu vae	sacred foot
ti'ati'a pu	to encircle several times
tifa	cover
tiki	image
tiki ae	forehead image
tou pae	three head ornaments
tumu ima	hand tree
vahana ae	half a forehead
vai me'ama	water moon
vai o Kena	water of Kena, a legendary hero
vai ta keetu	sacred bathing place of chiefs
veo	tail
vi'i po'i'i	to turn the shell fish

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

(From drawings by the author except where otherwise indicated.) 304x 531

PLATE I.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED MAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

The patterns on half the body of Eotafa of Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa—the most fully tattooed man seen in the Marquesas by the author—the motives being brought out by painting them with black paint. Identical patterns on the unpainted half of the man's body do not appear in the photograph.

PLATE II.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED WOMAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

Typical modern patterns for women, on the body of Tuuakena at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa: *A*. Front and side view of face, showing lip and ear patterns. *B-E*. Front and rear views of legs showing patterns on the painted portions.

PLATE III.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'a ti'a pu:* 1. An unfinished example from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.—2. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *enata* motive *(a)*.—3. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing a half band on the forehead.—4. From Hokatu, Ua Huka, showing the motives *tiki ae (a)*, *kikomata (b)*, *tiki pu (c)*, and *pariko* (inset in *c*).—5. From Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing a band over one eye, *mata (a)*, and a mouth band, *nutu kaha (b)*.—6. From Vai Paee, Ua Huka, showing the motives *vahana ae (a)*, *mata (b)*, *nihoniko peata* (*c* left), name unknown (*c*, right), detail of *c* right (*a*), and the *kikutu (d)*.—7. from Vai Paee, Ua Huka.—8. From Hane, Ua Huka.

PLATE IV.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'ati'a pu:* 1. From Omoa, Fatu Hiva.—2. From Hanavava, Fatu Hiva, showing on inter-band the *nihoniko peata* motive.—3. From Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. From A'akapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, showing detail of a chainlike design *(a)*.—6. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, the three bands here called as a whole *tou pae*.—7. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *mata (a)*, *vao (b)*, *kiki pu (c)*, *enata* (*d*), detail of *b* (*e*), detail of *d (f)*.—8. From Hooumi, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. From Haapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—10 and 11. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou.

PLATE V.—FACE AND HEAD PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of various styles of different periods: 1. From Hana Iapa, Hiva Oa, showing an unusually shaped eye band and an unfinished mouth band.—2. From Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing shoulder and chest patterns mounting the neck to join the face bands.—3. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou: an unfinished pattern, showing the probable sequence of execution—one eye being allowed to heal while half of the mouth was done, and so on.—4 From Ha'a Kuti, Ua Pou (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva, one of two extant examples showing the Nuku Hiva style of an oblique band *(pa heke)* crossing the face.—6. A former Hiva Oa pattern (after a description by an Atuona informant).—7. An old pattern for warriors of all the islands (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva.—8. A variant of the *ti'ati'a pu*, with nostrils covered, belonging to Fatu Hiva and called *ihu epo* (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. A pattern formerly used on the crown of the head (after a painting on a sculptured figure which once served as a house post in Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa, and is now in possession of M. Chadourne of Papeete, Tahiti.—10. The *kue epo* pattern, an example of a former style of the people of Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva (after a description by a Nuku Hiva informant).—11. An old Nuku Hiva pattern (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva).

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PLATE VI.—HEAD AND SHOULDER PATTERNS FOR WOMEN.

A. Typical face patterns for women: lip marks, *koniko*, and an ear pattern, *omao puoino*.

B. A hand across the arm just below the fall of the shoulder, on a woman of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).

C. Ear patterns: 1. On a woman of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva.—2. Of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing the *omao puoino* design around the lobe and the *kea* design at the back of the ear.—3. Of Tai-pi Vai, showing the *puoinga* design (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. Of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing around the lobe the *oniatia* (*onihaupeko*, Dordillon) motive and back of the ear the *po'opito ua puoina*.—5. Of Hiva Oa.—6. A woman's pattern on a man of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa—a rare occurrence.

PLATE VII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand.—2. The palm, showing the *pariko* motive on the underwrist around the palm, the *mata (a)*, the *tomau (b)*, and the *pariko (c)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the middle finger, the *pikou (tumu imo*, Langsdorff) *(a)* and the *mata (b)*.—2. The underwrist

PLATE VIII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM NUKU HIVA AND HIVA OA.

A. On a man of Nuku Hiva.

B. On a woman of Hiva Oa, showing the *taina vou* motive between the thumb and index finger, *e tua poou (a)*, *ti'i koo (b)*, and the *poa niho (c)* around the palm.

PLATE IX.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. An old pattern of Fatu Hiva called *kohi'u* (after a drawing made by an old *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva), showing finger motives, *mata vu'u*; finger and upper hand units inclusive, *nutu koko*; *po'i'i (a)*; *kea po'i'i (b)*; *kei po'i'i (c)*; and *kei ta'avaka (d)* around the palm.

B. On the left hand of a woman of Tahu Ata (for the design on her right hand see Plate *X, A)*, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the fingers; the *po'i'i (a)*, *Poku (b)*, and the *eia vu'u (c)*.

C. On a woman of Hiva Oa, done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand showing the central oval, the *po'i'i* motive; the *poka'a* at the base of the fingers and the thumb; *matua kee moa (a)*, *oma opea* between the thumb and index finger; and the *fanaua (b, c.)*.—2. The palm showing the *fanaua* motive around the palm, the *po'i'i (a)*, and the *piaotia (b)*.

PLATE X.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back of the hand, showing the *ka'avu* motive at the base of the middle finger to the wrist, *kou'u (a)*, *poka'a (b)*, *mokovaka (c)*, and the *mata (d)*.—2. The underwrist, *koua'ehi (a)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata. (The tattooing was done by the same *tuhuna* whose work is shown in Plates *X, A* and *IX, B.)* 1. The back, showing the motives *papua (a)*, *e tua poou (b)*, *paka (c)*, *ka'avu* (center), *fanaua (e)*, *Poku (f)*, and *ka'aka (g)*.—2 Underwrist, showing the motives *poa niho* around the palm; *papua au ti (b)*, and the *vai o Kena (c)*.

PLATE XI.—HAND PATTERNS. VARIANT MOTIVES.

A. Principal units on the hand of a woman of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *mata patona (a)*, *kea (b)*, and the *mata io (c)*. (After a sketch by E. S. Handy.)

B. A representation of a bird on the underwrist of a woman of Nuku Hiva.

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C. Pattern on two men of Ua Pou.
D. On a man of Hiva Oa, tattooing done by a *tahuna* of Fatu Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy). 304^x 531
E. On the underwrist of a woman of Hiva Oa, an unusual *kea* motive.

PLATE XII.—ARM AND BREAST PATTERNS FOR MEN. EVOLUTIONARY TYPES.

A. An old style of Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tahuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing breast stripes, *ti'i koko.*
B. An old style of Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy from the description of an artist of Fatu Hiva).
C. Detailed drawing of *A*, showing the motives *kea (a)*, the *etua poti (b)*, the *poka'a* or *pahito (c)*, *fa'amoana (d)*, *ipu ao (e)*, and the *vi'i pa'i'i (d* and *e).*
D. The present style: under-arm, *ipu oto;* shoulder disk, *puka puaka;* chest, *ka ua'eka.*
E. Detailed drawings of *B* showing the motives *nihoniho (a)*, *pa'i'i (b, c).*

PLATE XIII.—ARM PATTERNS FOR MEN. TYPICAL MODERN MOTIVES, *ipu oto.*

A. On a man of Ua Huka.
B. On three men of Ua Pou showing a variant of the armpit motive, the *poka'a (a)*, and the *enata (b).* Three pairs of squarish ovals, similar to those in *A* complete this arm pattern.
C. On a man of Fatu Hiva showing the motives *paoina (a); ti'i o'oka (b);* the three pairs of ovals, *ipu oto;* the arm-pit unit, *ipu ao; poka'a (c);* and *enata (d).*

PLATE XIV.—BODY PATTERNS FOR MEN. OLD AND NEW TYPES.

A. An unfinished example from Nuku Hiva, typical of all islands at the present time, showing the arm-pit design, *ipu kata* and chest, *tecua.*
B. An old style in back and side patterns from Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tahuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing back patches, *pahito; ipu oto (a); pahito (b); mata (c); mata (d); koke tua (e),* a girdle and leg stripe.
C. An unfinished back pattern, *poka tua,* from Nuku Hiva but common to all the Marquesas islands. On Ua Pou this pattern is called *moko.*

PLATE XV.—A BACK PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A girdle on a chiefess of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *ka'aka (a), mata (b),* and *fauaua (c).*

PLATE XVI.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva: *hoviko (a), mata hoata (b), vai to keetu (c), pana'o (d), iheiha (e), kei pa'i'i (f), akaaka fa'a (g), fa'a mana (h)* worn on the inner ankle, *mata ono'e (i)* worn on the inside of the knee, like the present *pahito, puka tahi (j)* worn below the knee on the inside of the leg, *eia ua'u (k)* worn on the inside of the calf, *uatu haka (l), tauu (m)* worn on the inside of the leg above the ankle (after drawings by a *tahuna* of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

The only surviving example, so far as known, of an old style of Nuku Hiva.
A. Front and side views of the left leg.
B. Back and side views of the right leg.

PLATE XVIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the motives shown in Plate XVII, *A.*

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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PLATE XIX.—DETAILED STUDIES OF A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Of motives in Plate XVII, *B*.

B. Back thigh units of both legs of patterns in Plate XVII.

C. Ankle motives of the right leg of pattern in Plate XVII, the rest of the ankle and foot pattern being identical with those of the left.

PLATE XX.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the right leg motives of an old style of Ua Pou, the only surviving example to be found today.

A. Front: *paku (a), mata io (b), makomako (c), vai ma'oma (d), koua (e).*

B. Back: *po'i'i (a), ka'ake (b), kaka'a (c), mata io (d), vai ma'oma (e), pahiei (f), pu (g).*

PLATE XXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the left leg motives of the preceding example:

A. Front, knee to ankle: *mata (a), ka'ake (b), pahiei (c), vai ma'oma (d).*

B. Back, knee to ankle: *ka'ake (a), mata io (b), vai ma'oma (c).*

C. General view of the left leg.

D. Ankle band.

E. General view of the right leg, of which detail is shown in Plate XX.

PLATE XXII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. THE MODERN TYPE.

Typical motives indicating the color of the tattooing as it appears on the skin.

A. Back pattern: *vai paku (a,* left), *ka'ake (a,* center), *mata koata (b), ka'ake (c), mata koata (d), ipu ani (e), vai o Kena (f), mata koata (g), ka'ake (h)* and *(j), Paku (i), ipu ani (k,* center), *ka'ake (k,* left and right).

B. Front pattern: *mata koata (a), po'okoko (b,* left and right), *kea (b,* center), *ka'ake (c,* left and right), *pahito (d,* left and right), *ipu ani (d,* center), *mata mei nei (e), ka'ake (f,* left and right), *vai o Kena,* sometimes called *potia kae* or *peke on mei (f,* center), *Poku (g,* center), *mata koata (h), pahito (i* and *j,* left and right), *ka'ake (i* and *j,* center), *ipu ani (k), mata koata (l), etua poou,* sometimes *Poku (m).*

PLATE XXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. A VARIANT ARRANGEMENT ON A WOMAN OF PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

A. Front pattern: *ka'ake (a,* left and right), *mata koata (a,* center), *aniatia (b,* left and right), *ka'ake (b,* center), *kopiko (d,* left and right), *po'i'i (d,* center), *ka'ake (e,* left and right), *mata koata (f,* center), *ka'ake (g), etua poou (h), mata koata (i), pahito (j,* left and right), *pahito (k,* left and right), *ka'ake (j* and *k,* center), *po'i'i (l), mata koata (m).*

B. Back pattern: *mata koata (a), ka'ake (b), mata koata (c), po'i'i (d), ka'ake (e), mata koata (f), ka'ake (g), pae aiko (h,* around the foot).

PLATE XXIV.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

A and *C*. Detail of upper thigh motives omitted from the leg but burned instead upon bamboo.

B. A general view showing how the motives in Plate XXIII are arranged on the leg.

PLATE XXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Front and rear views of an elaborate leg pattern from Pua Ma'u, showing a combination of the fine motives and heavy patches usually worn by men.

PLATE XXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Detailed study of the motives in the front pattern of Plate XXV: *mata kaka (a-c* inclusive), *kea (a,* center), *ka'ake (b), kea (c,* center), *pahito (d,* left

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and right), *po'i'i (d, center), uhiu hoata (e), tu'u po'o*, sometimes *vai o Kena* on Fatu Hiva *(f), vai o Kena (g, center), ha'ake (g,* left and right), *mata hoata (h), pahito (i* and *j,* left and right), *ha'ake* and *poke ou mei (i* and *j,* center), *po'i'i (k), mata hoata (l), tu'u po'o (m).*

B. Back pattern: *oniho (a), paka (b), pahito (c), papua (d), pahito (e), mata hoata (f), po'i'i (g), iti'iti'i (h), mata hoata (i), ha'ake (j* and *U, poke ou mei (k), ha'ake (m,* left and right), *po'i'i (n,* center).

PLATE XXVII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. VARIANTS.

A, B, and *C. Nuku haka,* variations of the thigh pattern.
D. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Nuku Hiva.
E. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. Oniho, a band outlining the sole of the foot of a woman of Ua Huka.

PLATE XXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. OTHER VARIATIONS.

A. An elaborate *po'i'i* on the knee of a woman of Tahu Ata.
B. A front shin pattern of unusual arrangement and combination.
[Note the use of the *vai o Kena* on its side *(a,* center), and the combination of *mata* and *vai o Kena (b).*]
C. A variant of the *aniatia* of Plate XXIII, *A:* left and right *(b* and *c).*
D. Crude representations of the *pa'a'oa* (fish) found on the knees of a woman of Tahu Ata.
E. An upper thigh motive, *puhi,* on a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. An unusual extension of the *ha'ake (a),* a variant of Plate XXIII, *A, h,* found on a woman of Ua Huna; a binding motive *(b)* from Ua Huka, a variant of the *iti'iti'i* of Plate XXVI, *B, k.*

PLATE XXIX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Nuku Hiva: the *koke to,* or sword motive, consisting of a girdle across the back and a stripe down the side of the leg *(a, b), hikuhiku atu (b), pua hitu (c), pahito (d), kuetai (e), po'i'i (f), mata hoata (g),* and the *ha'ake (h).* (After drawings by an artist of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XXX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva): *oa fanana,* worn on the upper front thigh *(a); mata hoata (b); pahito (c), vai o Kena (b* and *c),* worn on the back of the leg below the bend of the knee; *papua enata (d),* worn on the inside calf just above the ankle; *mata hoata (e),* worn on the upper thigh alongside the *oa fanana; ti'i kokoe (f),* worn on the bend of the knee; *paka'a (g),* worn on the back of the calf; *nihoniho (h),* worn on the inside calf; *ha'ake (i), pua kue* and *iheike (j); pia'o tiu (k),* worn around the ankle; *ti'i kakao (l),* worn on the foot.

PLATE XXXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

The Nuku Hiva style of leg pattern, done by a *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva and found on only one man: ornamental band on the thigh, *puhi puha;* the heavy patches, *paipai ia.*

PLATE XXXII.—LEG PATTERNS FOR MEN.

The Hiva Oa style, in vogue on all the islands at the time of the discontinuance of the art:
A. Side view of a leg with motives from Ua Huka. The buttock and inside front quarter of the leg pattern are lacking, as is usual in modern examples.
B. Front and side views of a leg with motives from Fatu Hiva, the inside front quarter of the leg pattern, below the knee, being present.

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C. Back view of a leg with motives from Ua Pou, the buttock pattern being present.

PLATE XXXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of Plate XXXII, *A: kohe ta (a, b,* and *c), kea (b), mata io (c), puto'o (d), kautupa (e), fatina (f), pahito* with *po'i'i* inset *(g), hikuhiku atu (h), pahito (i* and *j), auhoi (k), tapu vae (k* and *l).*

PLATE XXXIV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of motives on Plate XXXII, *B: kohe ta (a* and *b); puto'o (c); pahito* with *mata hoata, ka'ake,* and *tiki* insets *(d); mata vaho,* the half oval; *pua hue (e); fatina (f); pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets *(g); paka oto (h, i, j); hikuhiku atu (k); pahito,* with *mata* and *ka'ake* insets *(l), tapu vae (m).*

PLATE XXXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A detailed study of the motives of Plate XXXII, *C: kohe ta (a* and *b); tifa (c),* containing a *mata hoata, enata,* and a *kea* in the center at the bottom; *puto'o (d); pahito (e); fatina* with elaborate double rows of cross-barred teeth inset *(f); pahito (g); paka (h),* in place of the usual *hikuhiku atu; pahito (i); tapu vae (j); auhoi (k).*

PLATE XXXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

An elaborated pattern of the Hiva Oa style found at Ua Huka: *kohe tine (a–c),* complicated by two *mata io (b* and *c), puto'o,* lightened by a *mata io* inset *(d), pahito* broken by a *ka'ake* and a *po'i'i* inset *(f).*

PLATE XXXVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A more complicated pattern from Hiva Oa, rendered almost as lacelike as those for women by the numerous fine-line insets in the heavy patches: *puto'o (a, b, c,)* with insets of cross-barred teeth, double rows of *tiki,* and a *vai o Kena; pahito* with *mata hoata, ka'ake,* and *po'i'i* insets *(d); fatina* with *mata* inset *(e); pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets *(f); hikuhiku atu (g)* with flourishes at the points; *pahito (h),* whose simple lines are almost lost in the elaborate insets of *vai o Kena* and *mata.*

PLATE XXXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

A. Kohe ta from Fatu Hiva.

B. A thigh pattern from Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy): *mata (a), hue ao (b).*

C. Two bands for the foot: *pia'otiu* and *kakao.*

D. An inside knee motive, *mata vaho,* from Fatu Hiva.

E. and *F.* Ankle bone decorations, *auhoi.*

G. An ankle band from Fatu Hiva: *Tapu vae (a); hikuhiku atu (b); pahito* with *ka'ake, mata io,* and *tiki* insets *(c).*

H. An elaborated *pahito* from Fatu Hiva with *ka'ake, enata,* and *mata io* insets.

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 1]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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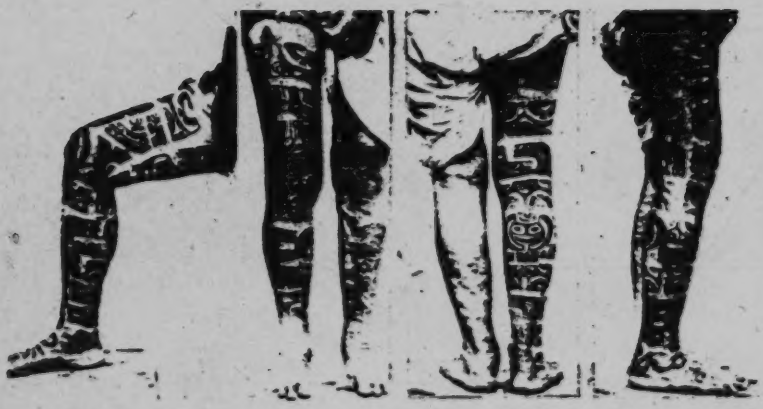
A

B C D E



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 2]

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Bulletin 6, Plate III

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

Bernice P. Bishop Museum

[End Plate 3]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 5]

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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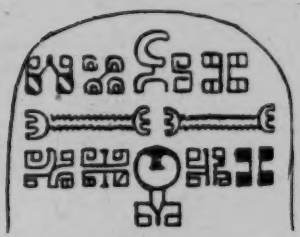
A

B



C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 6]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 7]

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 8

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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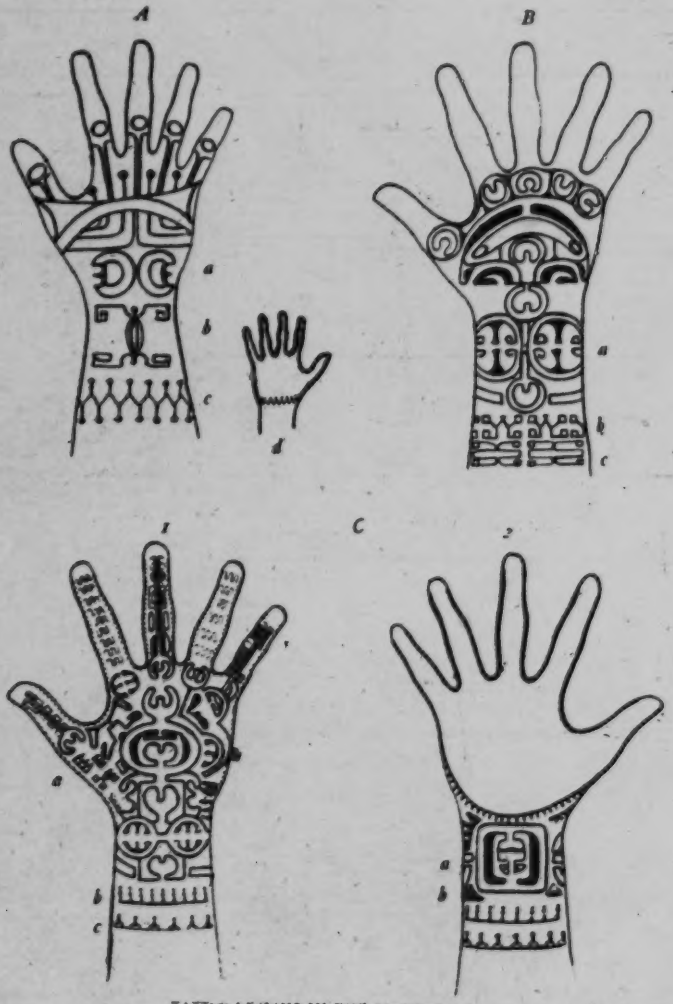

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 9]

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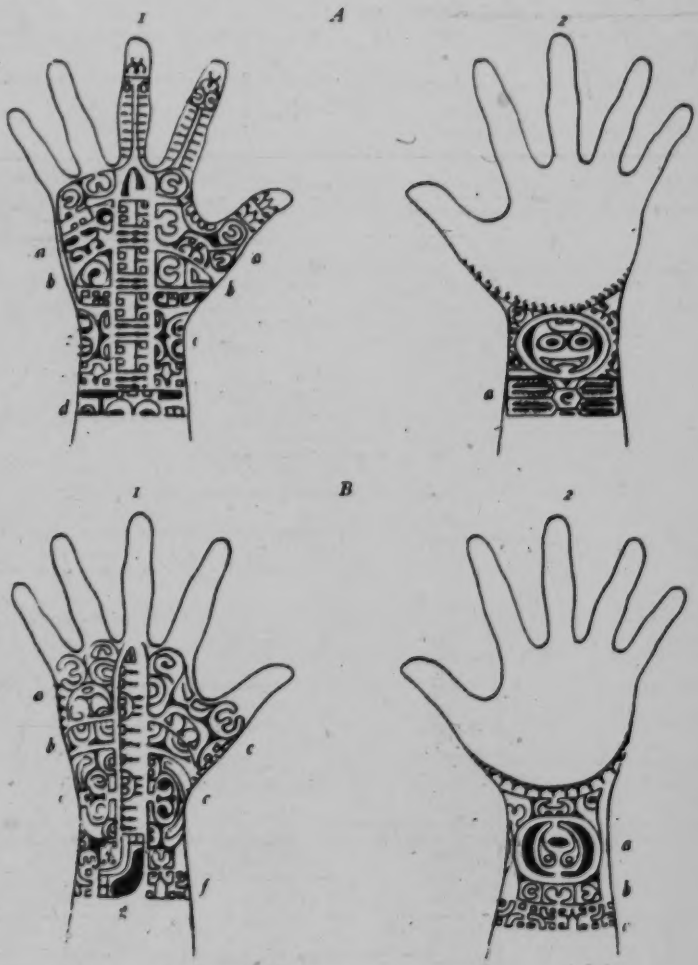

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 10]

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[End Plate 11]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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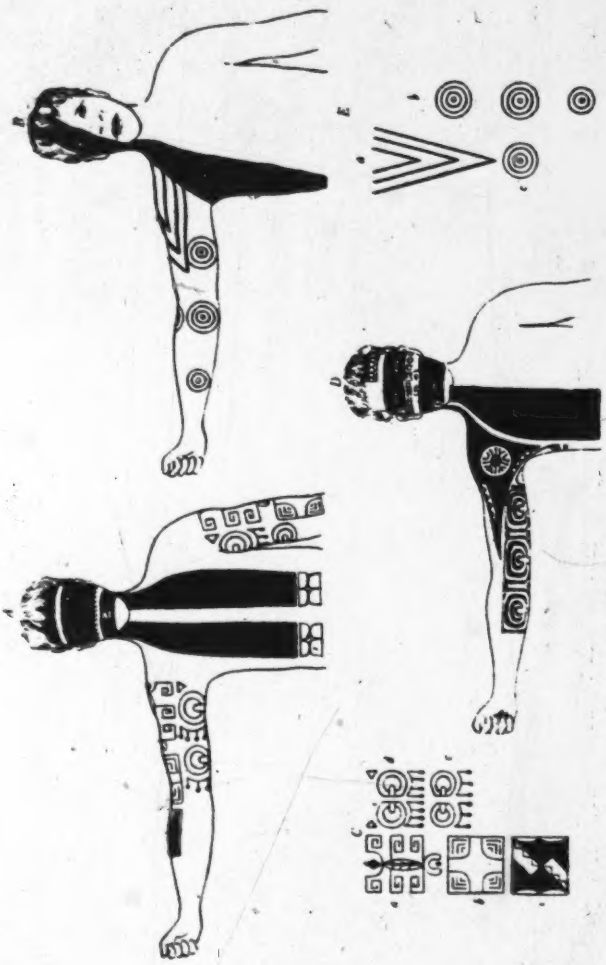

End Plate 12

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A

B

C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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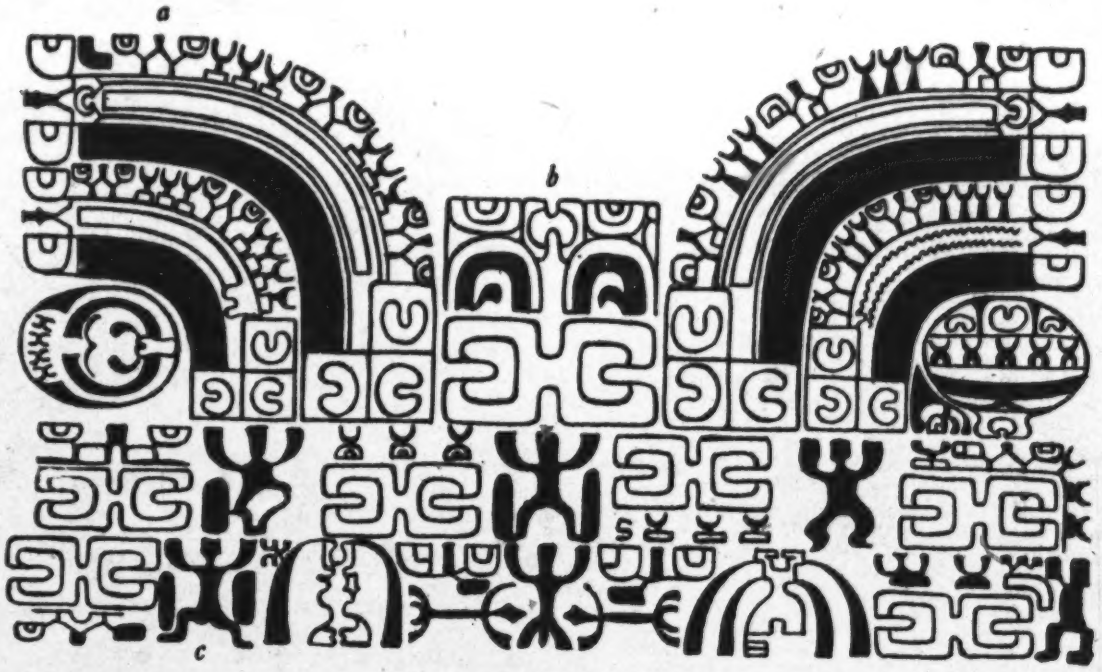
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 14]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 15

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 16]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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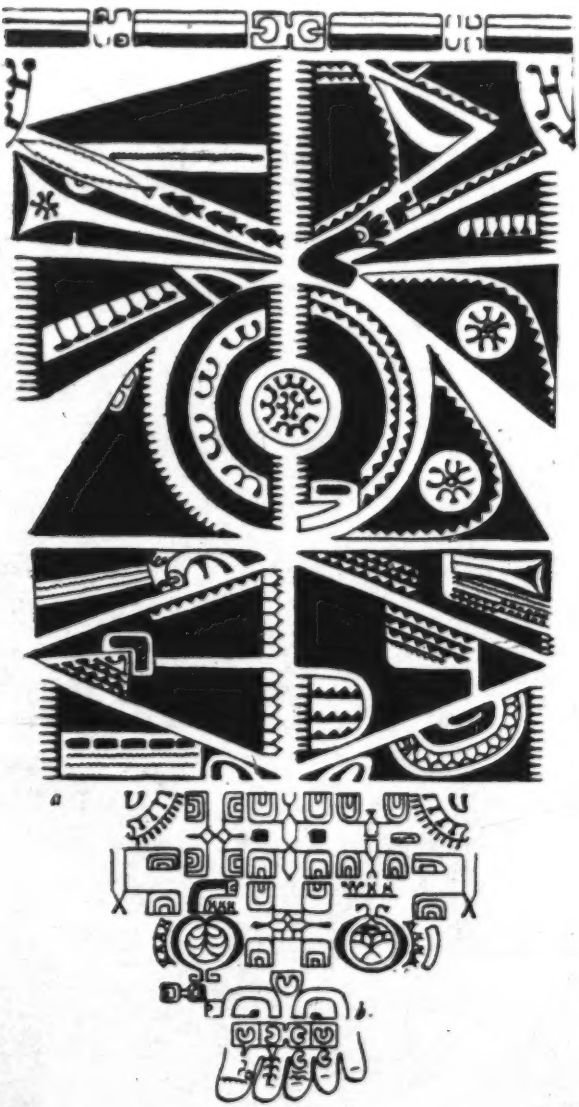

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 18]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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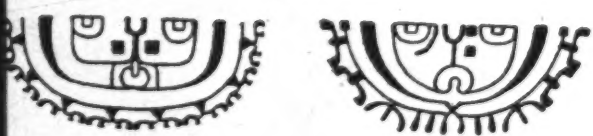
A

B



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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 19]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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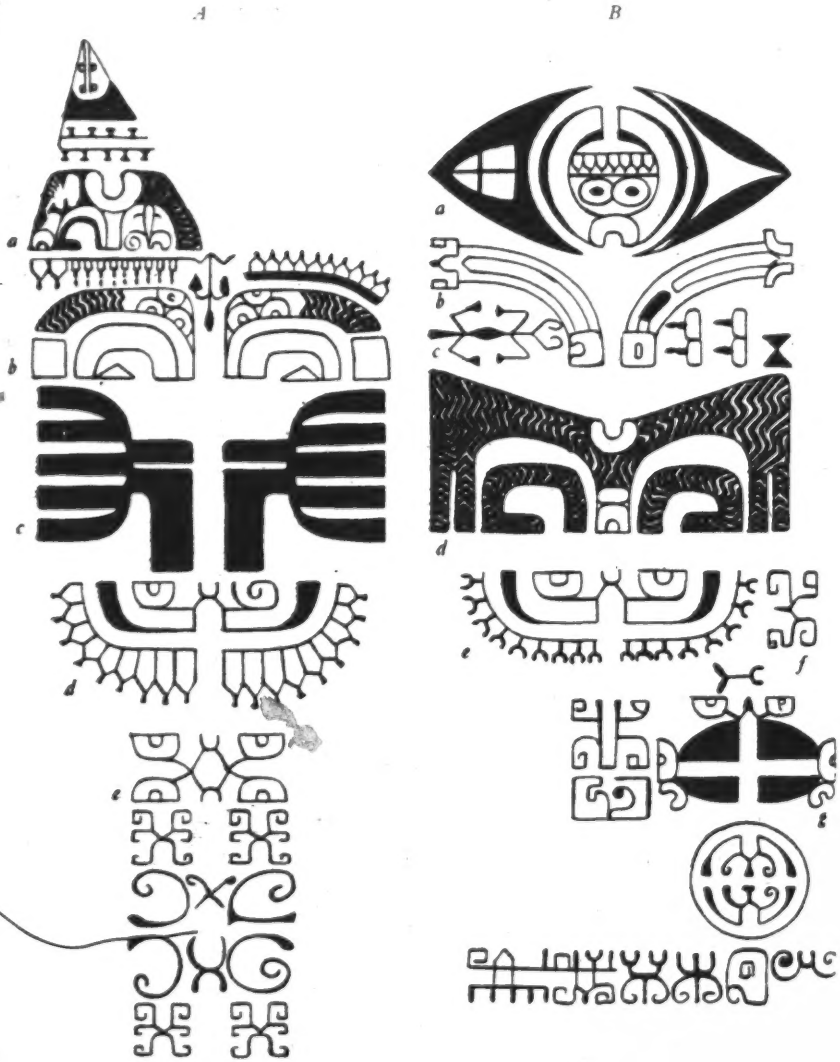

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 20]

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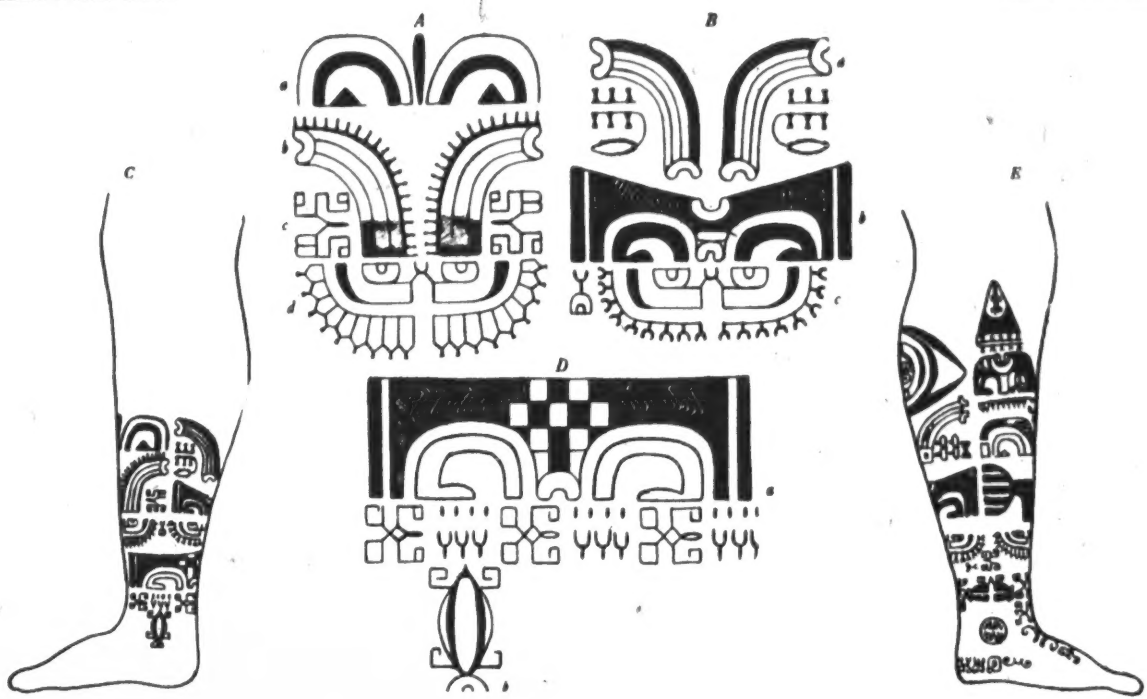

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 21]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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[End Plate 22]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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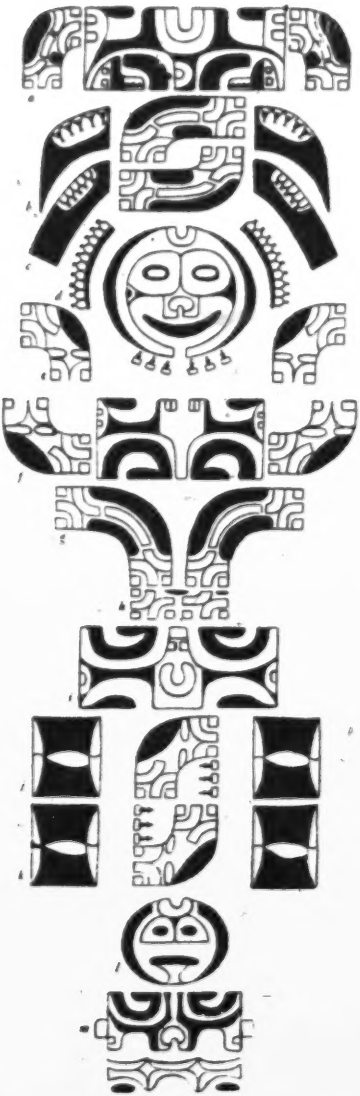
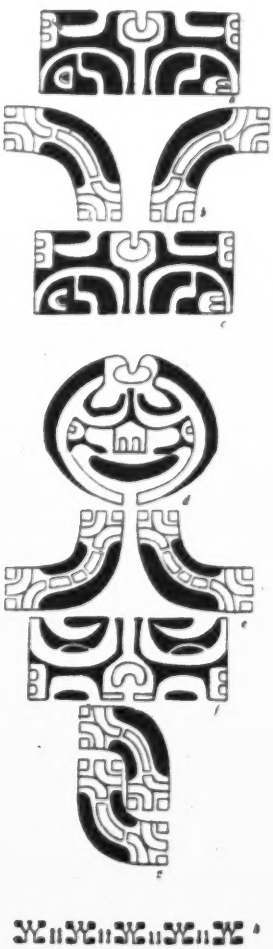
A



B



[End Plate 23]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 24]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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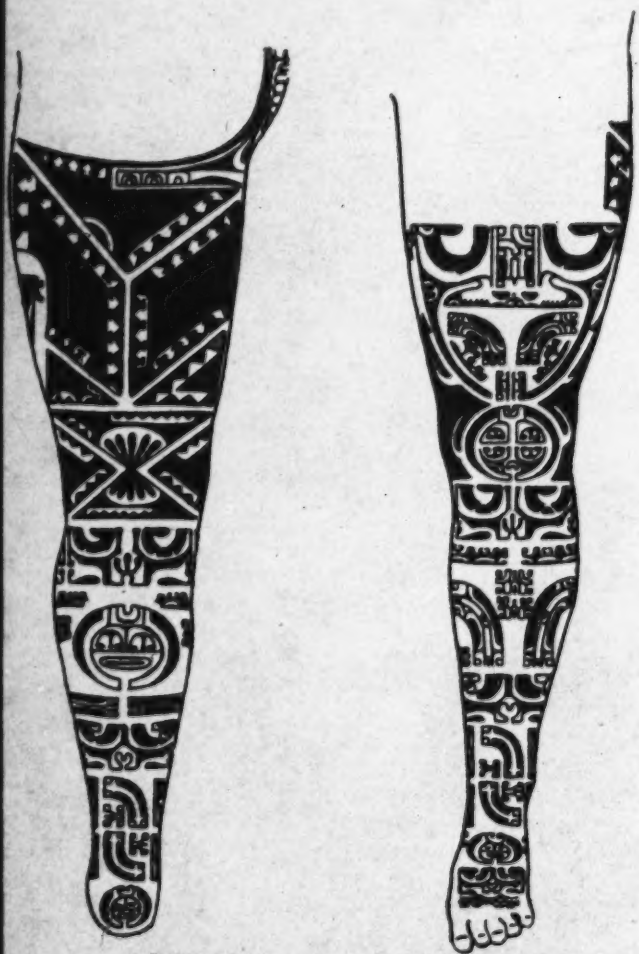

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 25]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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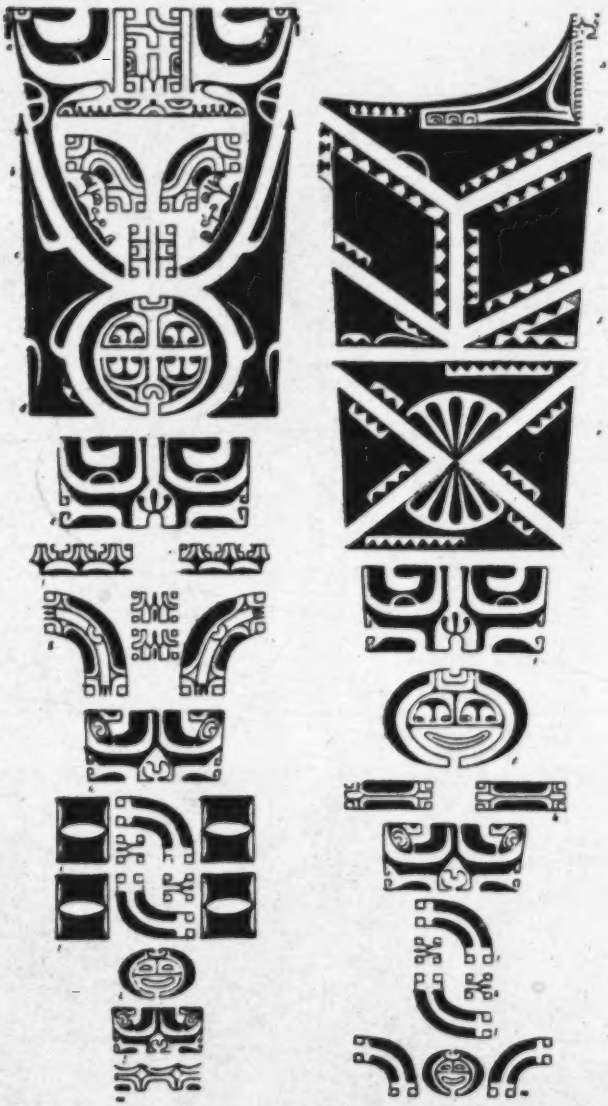

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 26]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[End plate 27]

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TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

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End Plate 28

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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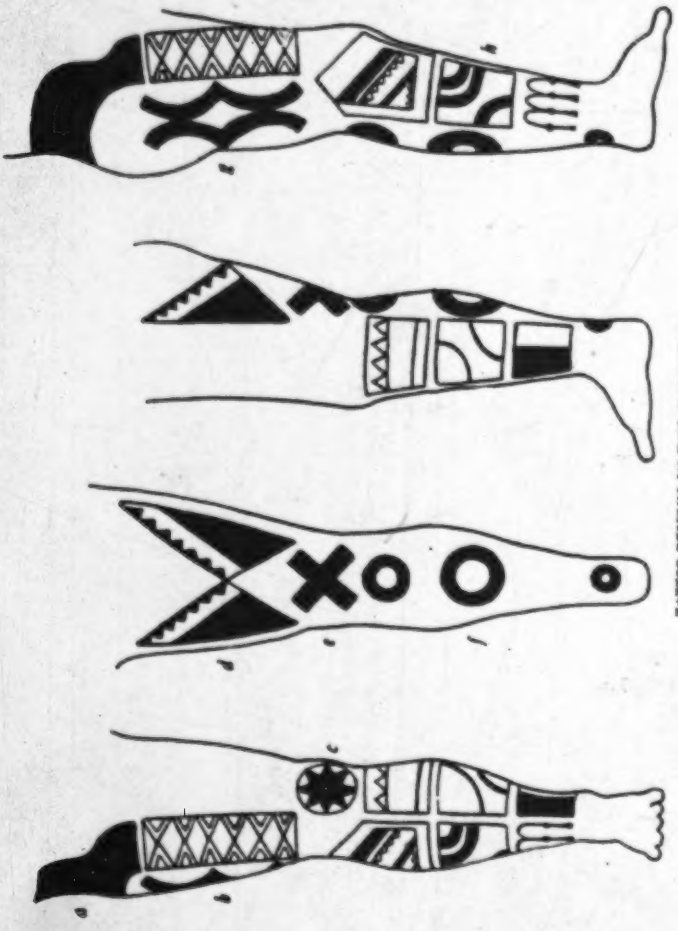
Bulletin 1, Plate XXIX



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

Bishop P. Bruce Museum

[End Plate 29]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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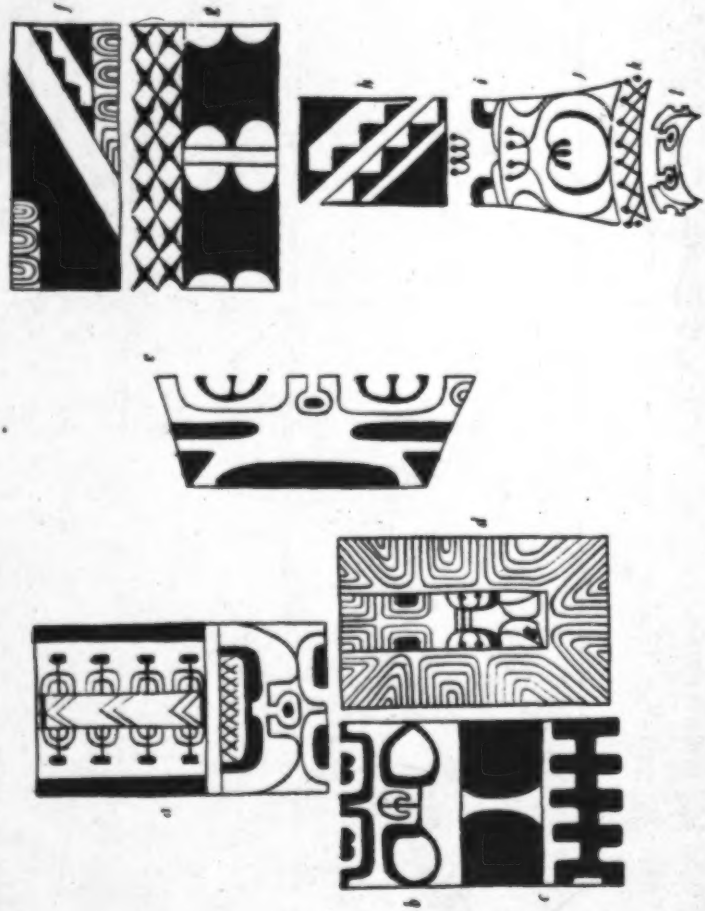

[End Plate 30]

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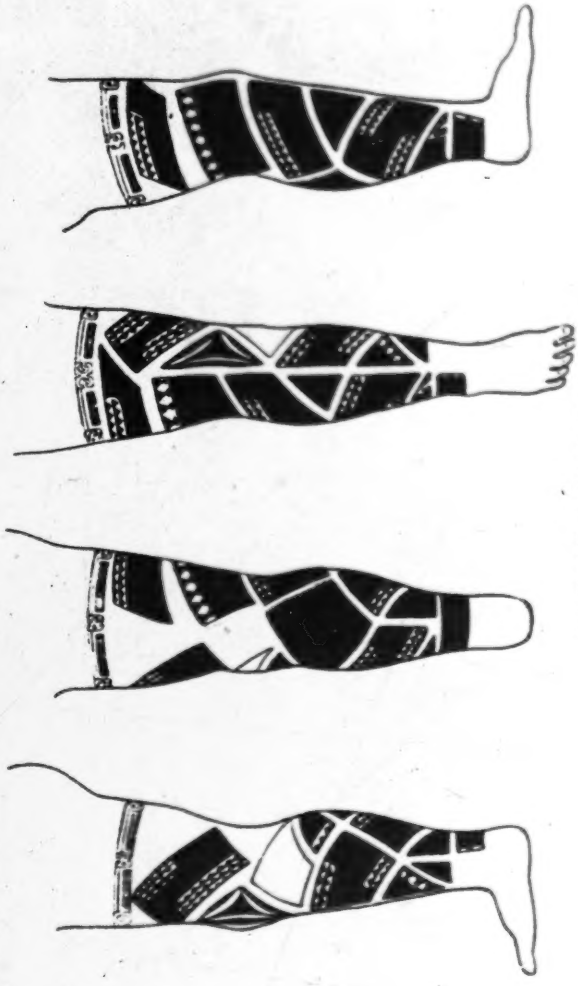


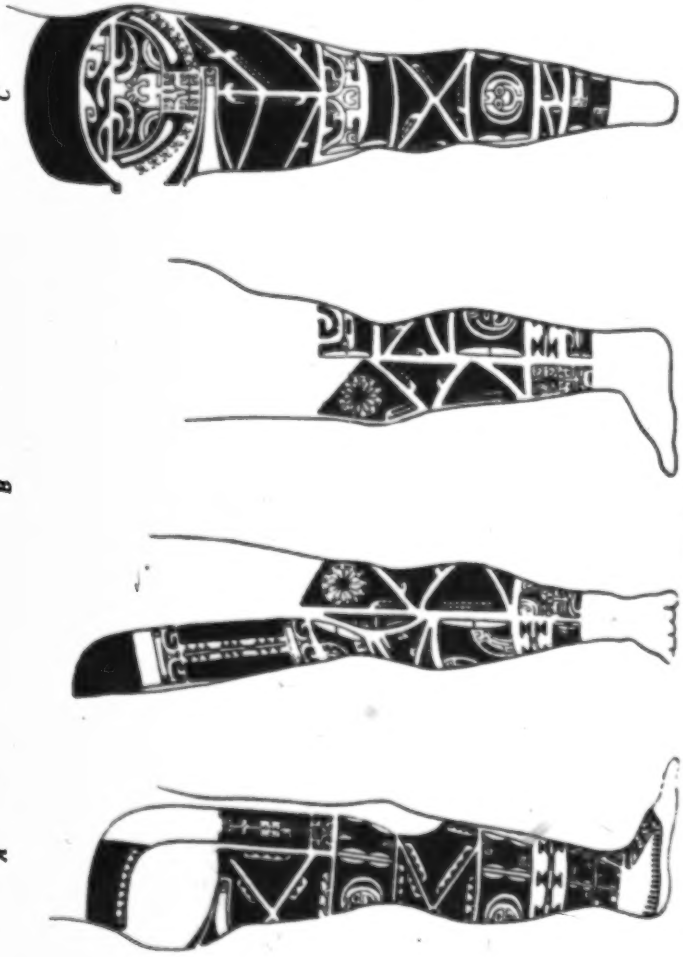
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

Bishop Museum

[End Plate 31]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X-304
531



C

B

A

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 32]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

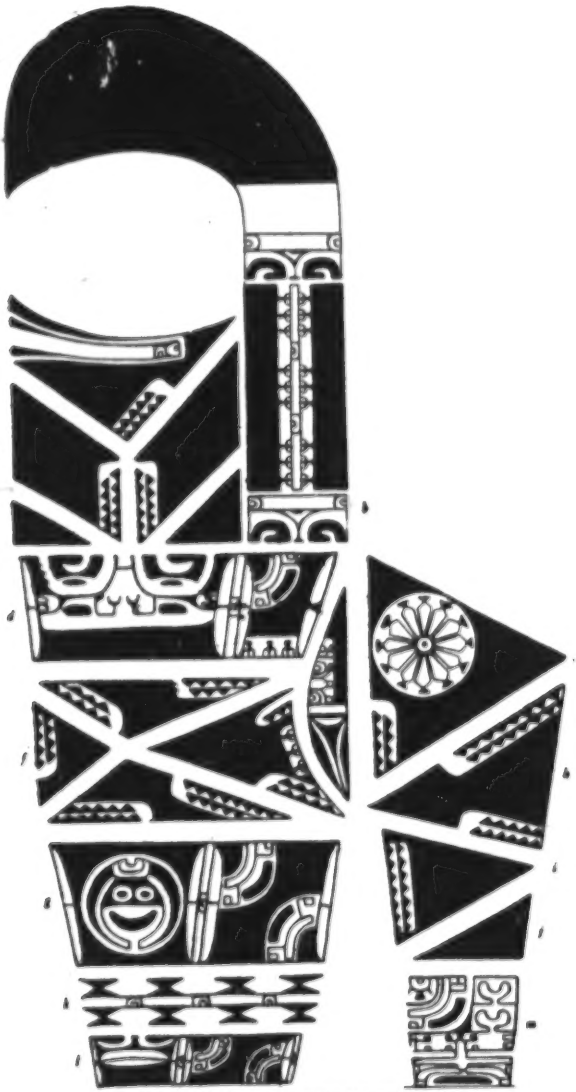
30KX
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 33]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304 .531

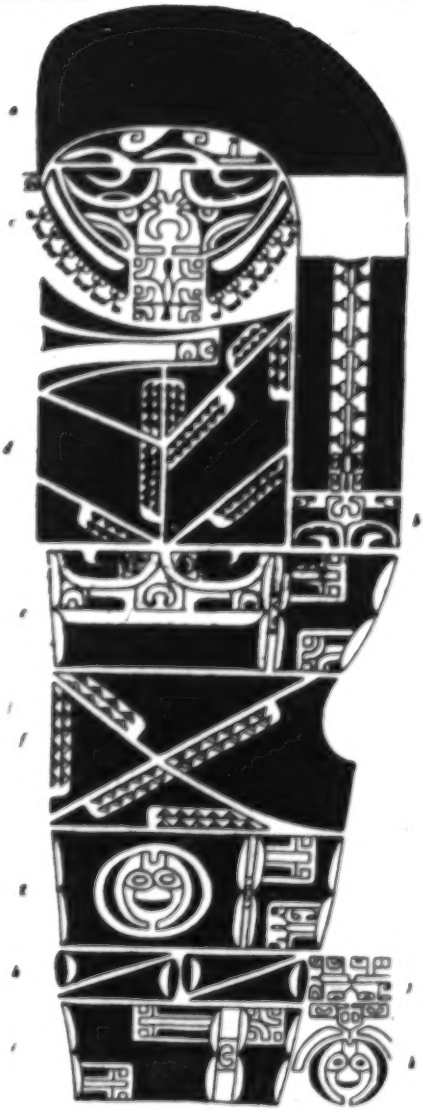


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 34]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304X
531

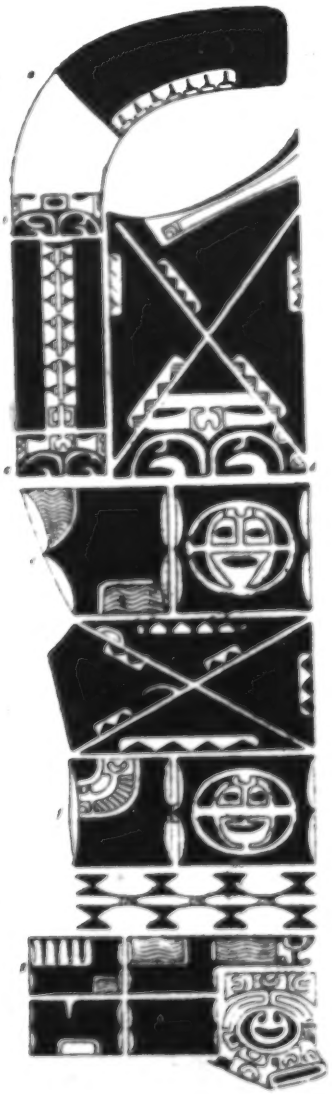


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 35]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 36]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531

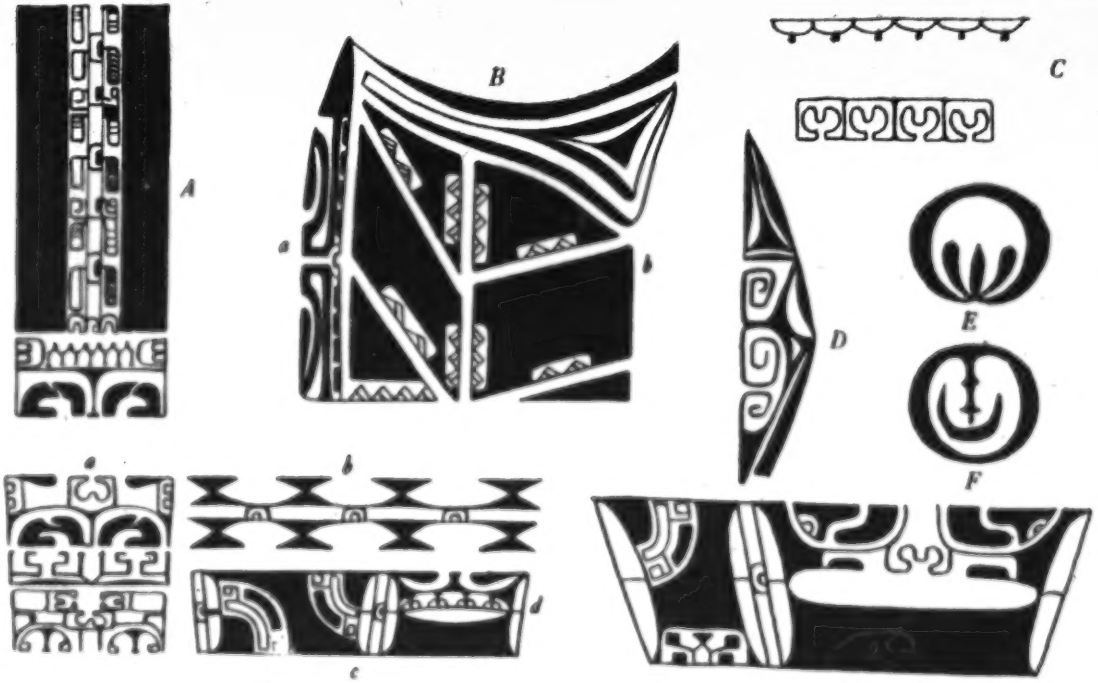
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 37]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531

End Plate 38



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

9: Greiner
531

Marquesas OX6

[For discussion of Marquesan decorative designs, see category 116, pp. 3-34, 101-3, and plates I-XVIII.]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Polynesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 [773] The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-